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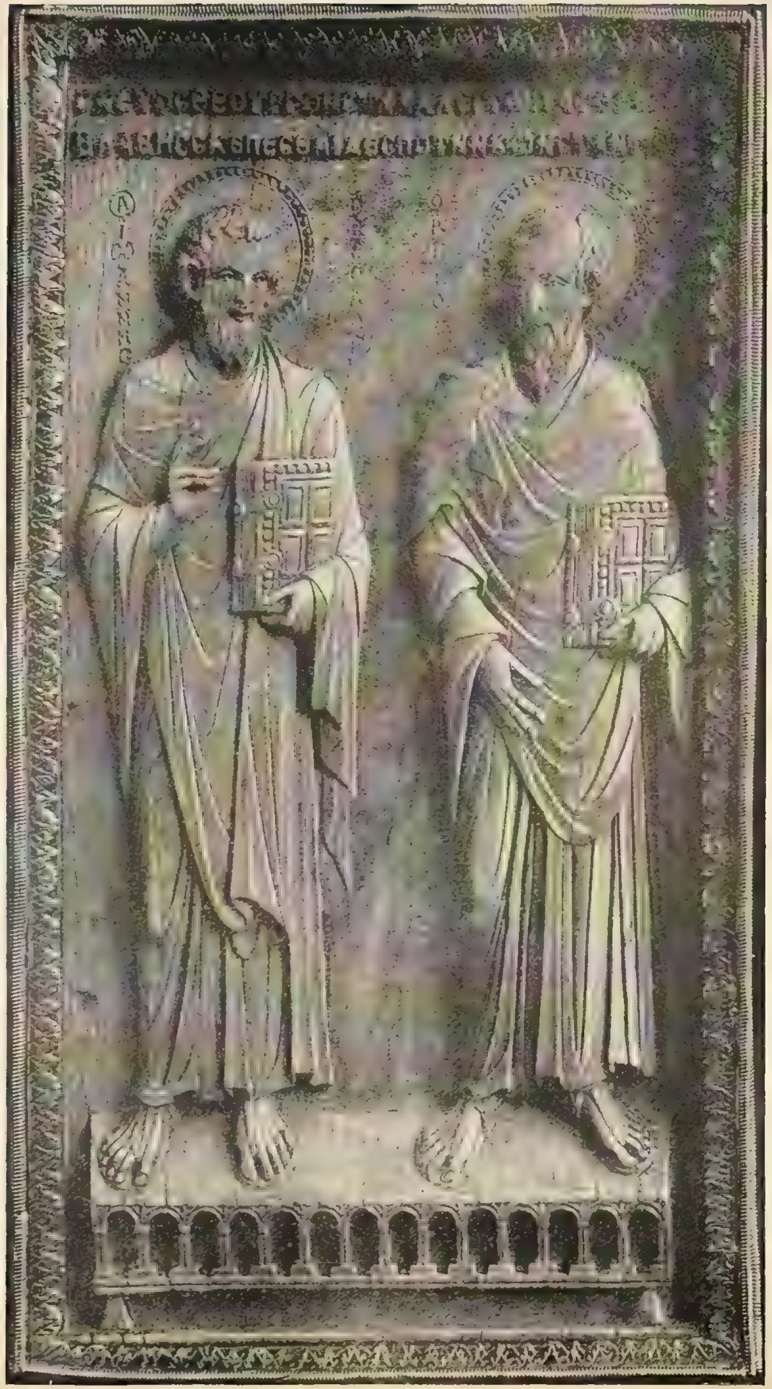
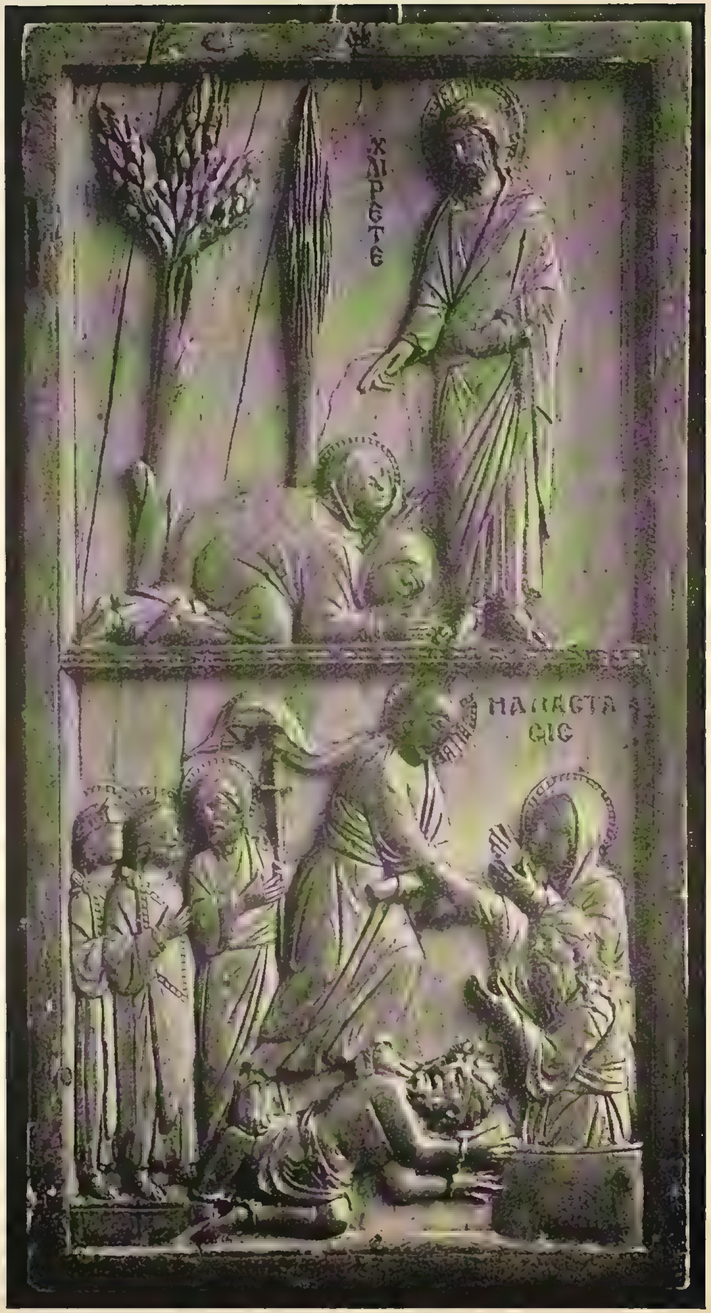
MONUMENTS BYZANTINS INÉDITS DU ONZIÈME SIÈCLE



1. Dresde. *Grünes Gewölbe.* Plaque d'Ivoire.
Saint Jean le Théologue et Saint Paul


ΧΑΙΡΕΤΕ
Η ΑΝΑΣΤΑ
ΣΙΣ

2. Dresde. *Grünes Gewölbe.* Plaque d'Ivoire. Apparition
du Christ aux Maries et *Anastasis*

MONUMENTS BYZANTINS INÉDITS DU ONZIÈME SIÈCLE

PAR CHARLES DIEHL

I

PARMI les ivoires byzantins du onzième siècle qui nous ont été conservés, on s'accorde à considérer comme un ouvrage particulièrement remarquable les deux plaques signalées jadis par Gori dans son *Thesaurus veterum diptychorum*[1] et publiées depuis lors à nouveau, de façon plus satisfaisante, par M. G. Schlumberger.[2] Sur ces deux volets de triptyque[3] qui se trouvent, l'un au Musée du Palais ducal à Venise, l'autre au *Münz und Antiken Cabinet* de Vienne, quatre figures d'apôtres sont représentées, saint Jean le Théologue et saint Paul sur le premier, saint Pierre et saint André sur le second; et on a justement loué l'aspect majestueux de ces personnages, la noblesse de leur attitude, l'élégance de leurs draperies, et les qualités techniques de l'exécution. Or il se trouve qu'à Dresde, dans les collections du *Grünes Gewölbe*, il existe un autre exemplaire de l'un des feuillets qui viennent d'être rappelés. Je ne crois pas qu'il ait jamais été publié: il mérite, par la beauté du travail, d'être signalé à l'attention.[4] (Fig. 1).

La plaque de Dresde mesure 24 centimètres, 5 de hauteur, 13 de largeur; elle est donc de même dimension que les feuillets de Venise et de Vienne.[5] Elle ressemble de façon très frappante à la plaque de Venise; on y voit représentés, comme dans celle-ci, saint Jean le Théologue et saint Paul; on y lit la même inscription:

> CKEΥOCΘEOΥPΓONCVΛΛAΛEITΩΠAPΘENΩ
> BΛABHCCKEΠECΘAIΔECΠOTHNKΩNCTANTINON

Elle faisait donc partie d'un monument tout semblable à celui qu'a décrit M. Schlumberger et se complétait par un second feuillet, aujourd'hui disparu, représentant saint Pierre et saint André. Pourtant la plaque de Dresde, malgré sa ressemblance, est loin d'être identique à celle de Venise. Elle en diffère d'abord par certains détails:[1] ainsi le marche-pied sur lequel sont posés les apôtres est porté par quinze colonnettes doubles, au lieu qu'on en compte dix-huit sur le feuillet de Venise, et les arcatures ne sont pas en fer à cheval comme dans celui-ci. Mais il y a des différences plus importantes. Les attitudes en particulier sont assez dissemblables: tandis qu'à Venise les apôtres tiennent à deux mains — d'un geste qui n'est pas exempt de quelque gaucherie — le *codex* à riche couverture d'ivoire, à Dresde tous deux portent le livre dans le bras gauche; le bras droit, chez saint Paul, s'abaisse vers la terre; saint Jean lève la main droite dans un geste de bénédiction. Les draperies également se disposent de façon assez différente, en plis plus harmonieux et d'une plus souple élégance. Mais surtout les têtes sont traitées dans un sentiment un peu différent, avec une expression moins énergique, moins rude, que dans la plaque de Venise; il y a chez saint Jean plus de douceur affinée, chez saint Paul plus de distinction majestueuse. Tout cela montre que l'ivoire de Dresde n'est point une simple copie de celui de Venise, et il ne semble point qu'il soit l'œuvre du même artiste. Tel qu'il est, il apparaît de qualité assez supérieure au feuillet que possède le Palais ducal.

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[1] Gori, *op. cit.*, t. I. Pls. XXVIII et XXIX.

[2] Schlumberger, *Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine*, p. 337. Cf. sur ce monument: E. Molinier, *Histoire des arts appliqués à l'industrie*, t. I. *Les ivoires*, p. 101; Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, pp. 228–229; *East Christian Art*, pp. 217–218.

[3] C'est ainsi que les qualifie M. Schlumberger; je croirais plutôt, comme le pense Dalton, que ce sont deux feuillets d'un diptyque.

[4] Je tiens à remercier le conservateur du *Grünes Gewölbe* de Dresde, qui, il y a bien des années déjà, m'a fait obligeamment parvenir les photographies des ivoires que je publie ici.

[5] C'est par une faute d'impression que Schlumberger (*op. cit.*, p. 338) dit que celles-ci sont larges de 18 centimètres. Il faut lire 13.

Un troisième exemplaire du même sujet a été découvert en 1907 à Ismid (Nicomédie).[2] Sur ce feuillet la première ligne de l'inscription a été grattée et il n'en subsiste que la seconde. L'exécution est beaucoup plus médiocre que celle des feuillets de Venise et de Dresde. Les figures n'ont pas l'élégant allongement des personnages du onzième siècle; elles sont plus lourdes, plus trapues; si l'attitude, la disposition des draperies dans la partie supérieure du corps rappellent le feuillet de Venise, le geste est gauche; la draperie, surtout dans le bas du corps, est compliquée à la fois et disgracieuse; enfin les têtes, posées de face, sont banales d'expression et sans grand caractère. Le principal intérêt du monument est de fournir un troisième exemplaire, exécuté par un artiste différent et appartenant sans doute à une époque différente,[3] du diptyque que nous étudions.

Qu'un même modèle ait pu, à des dates différentes, inspirer des artistes différents, cela n'est point pour surprendre, et l'art byzantin en offre, précisément pour les ivoires, des exemples significatifs. On sait que le musée du Vatican conserve un ivoire étroitement apparenté au triptyque Harbaville et qui, quelle qu'en soit la date exacte — on l'a tour à tour attribué au quinzième siècle ou à une époque plus ancienne[4] — est certainement d'un âge

[1] Le cadre en cuivre qui entoure la plaque est une addition de date postérieure.

[2] *Byzant. Zeitschr.*, t. XVI (1907), p. 564 et Pl. IV, A. L'inscription est mal lue: Βλάβης σκέπ' εὐβῆ (pour εὐσεβῆ) δεσπότην Κωνσταντῖνον.

[3] On ne saurait penser à le dater du dixième siècle comme le fait Papageorgiou (*Byzant. Zeitschr.*, *loc. cit.*).

[4] Molinier, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Dalton, *Byzant. Art*, p. 228; Munoz, *L'art byzantin à l'exposition de Grottaferrata*, pp. 109, 112–113.

postérieur à l'ivoire du Louvre. Pareillement le triptyque de la Bibliothèque Casanatense de Rome, qu'il soit du quinzième siècle, comme le veulent Linas et Molinier,[1] ou plus ancien, comme le pense Dalton,[2] procède de la même inspiration. On reviendra plus loin sur le triptyque de la Casanatense; il suffit de noter pour le moment que cet ivoire, comme celui du Vatican, est, malgré des différences dans le travail, de la même famille que l'ivoire Harbaville et s'inspire d'un type plus ancien.

Il en va incontestablement de même pour l'ivoire de Nicomédie, de date certainement plus récente que les feuillets de Dresde et de Venise, et qui pourrait bien être du quinzième siècle. Mais faut-il croire qu'il en va de même aussi pour les plaques de Venise et de Dresde? ont-elles été exécutées à des dates différentes? ou bien proviennent-elles de deux diptyques exécutés par des artistes différents, mais à la même date et pour le même personnage?

On sait combien il est difficile de dater avec précision les ivoires byzantins de la période comprise entre le dixième et le quatorzième siècle.[3] On date par exemple le triptyque Harbaville tantôt de la seconde moitié du dixième siècle [4] et tantôt du onzième; [5] on attribue indifféremment les feuillets de Venise et de Vienne au commencement ou à la fin du onzième siècle, et parfois même au dixième.[6] Il est donc bien difficile de prétendre déterminer la date exacte de l'ivoire de Dresde. Il n'y a, on le sait, aucune précision à tirer de la mention du despote Constantin. Si, dans la première moitié du neuvième siècle, ce titre de despote semble, sur les monnaies, désigner le fils du *basileus* associé à son père,[7] si, à l'époque de la dynastie macédonienne, ce titre se rencontre assez rarement pour désigner les empereurs, généralement dénommés *augustes* [8] sous Basile I et Léon VI [9] et ensuite *basileis*, il est certain, selon la remarque de M. Schlumberger, que les empereurs du onzième siècle ont été désignés par le titre de *despote* aussi communément que par celui de *basileus* ou *d'autocrator*. On le rencontre, ainsi employé d'une façon constante, à partir de Constantin Monomaque et sous ses successeurs; [10] il est habituel sous les Comnènes et les Anges, et semble même au douzième siècle remplacer sur les monnaies l'appellation de *basileus*; [11] il persiste sur les monnaies des Paléologues. Il y a donc peu de chose à conclure de la mention faite sur nos ivoires du despote Constantin. Il faut évidemment, en raison du style de ces petits ouvrages, exclure la première moitié du neuvième siècle; on remarquera d'autre part, d'après les indications monétaires, combien le dixième siècle semble peu vraisemblable, et même la première moitié du onzième. Mais, si l'on est ramené ainsi, au plus tôt, à la seconde moitié du onzième siècle, faut-il penser à l'empereur Constantin Monomaque (1042–1055), à l'empereur Constantin Doukas (1059–1067), ou bien, comme le suggérait Gori, à ce jeune Constantin Porphyrogénète, fils de Michel VII, né en 1074, et qu'Alexis Comnène associa au trône et fiança à sa fille Anne Comnène? On ne saurait le dire. Mais comme, avant le quinzième siècle, on ne rencontre plus d'empereur nommé Constantin, il semble bien qu'il faille attribuer à la seconde moitié du onzième siècle l'ivoire de Dresde et les feuillets de Venise et Vienne.

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[1] Linas, dans *Revue de l'art chrétien*, 1886; Molinier, *loc. cit.*, p. 104.

[2] Dalton, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

[3] Cf. les remarques de Molinier, *loc. cit.*, p. 95, et de Dalton, *East Christian Art*, pp. 215–216.

[4] Schlumberger, *Mélanges d'archéologie byzantine*, p. 71.

[5] Dalton, *East Christian Art*, p. 217.

[6] Schlumberger, *op. cit.*, p. 339; Dalton, *Byzant. Art.*, pp. 228–229, et *East Christian Art*, pp. 217–218; Molinier, *op. cit.*, p. 112, où il y a une erreur d'impression; le Constantin Porphyrogénète, fils de l'empereur Michel, est né en 1074, non en 1024.

[7] Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, pp. 402, 405, 409, 414, 420.

[8] Le titre de despote ne se rencontre sur les monnaies que pour les trois empereurs usurpateurs. Romain Lécapène (Wroth, pp. 459–460), Nicéphore Phocas (*ibid.*, p. 472), Jean Tzimitzès (*ibid.*, pp. 474–475) et encore exceptionnellement.

[9] Wroth, pp. 435–437, 440, 445, 450, 454.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 503, 516, 525, 532.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 540 et suiv., pp. 555, 566, 583, 589, 599.

Pourtant, si proche par la date que le premier semble être des deux autres, les différences de style qui ont été signalées précédemment inclinent à croire que la plaque de Dresde n'a point été exécutée à l'intention du même personnage que celle de Venise. Les saints figurés sur l'ivoire de Dresde semblent plus proches parents de ceux du triptyque Harbaville que ne sont ceux de Venise. Je croirais donc assez volontiers la plaque de Dresde un peu plus ancienne que les feuillets de Venise et de Vienne, et que le diptyque dont elle faisait partie fut exécuté pour un premier despote Constantin et imité un peu plus tard pour un autre prince du même nom, en attendant qu'une dernière œuvre, l'ivoire de Nicomédie, en procédât, probablement au quinzième siècle, pour un souverain qui pourrait être l'empereur Constantin XI.

C'est à ce dernier personnage, on le sait, que Linas et Molinier rapportent le triptyque de la Bibliothèque Casanatense, dont l'inscription montre qu'il fut exécuté pour un personnage nommé Constantin.[1] Dalton au contraire le date du treizième siècle, et remarque que, aucun titre n'accompagnant le nom de Constantin, rien n'oblige à reconnaître dans ce personnage un empereur.[2] L'objection est juste, sans être absolument décisive. En tout cas, il convient de retenir le jugement d'un homme comme Dalton, qui considère comme trop basse la date attribuée à ce monument. Par ailleurs, si on examine l'inscription gravée sur le volet central du triptyque, le troisième vers mérite de retenir l'attention. On y lit (il s'agit du Christ):

καὶ συλλαλεῖ γάρ μ(ητ)ρὶ κ(αὶ) τῷ Προδρόμῳ

La formule rappelle celle des ivoires de Dresde et de Venise:

Σκεῦος Θεουργὸν συλλαλεῖ τῷ παρθένῳ

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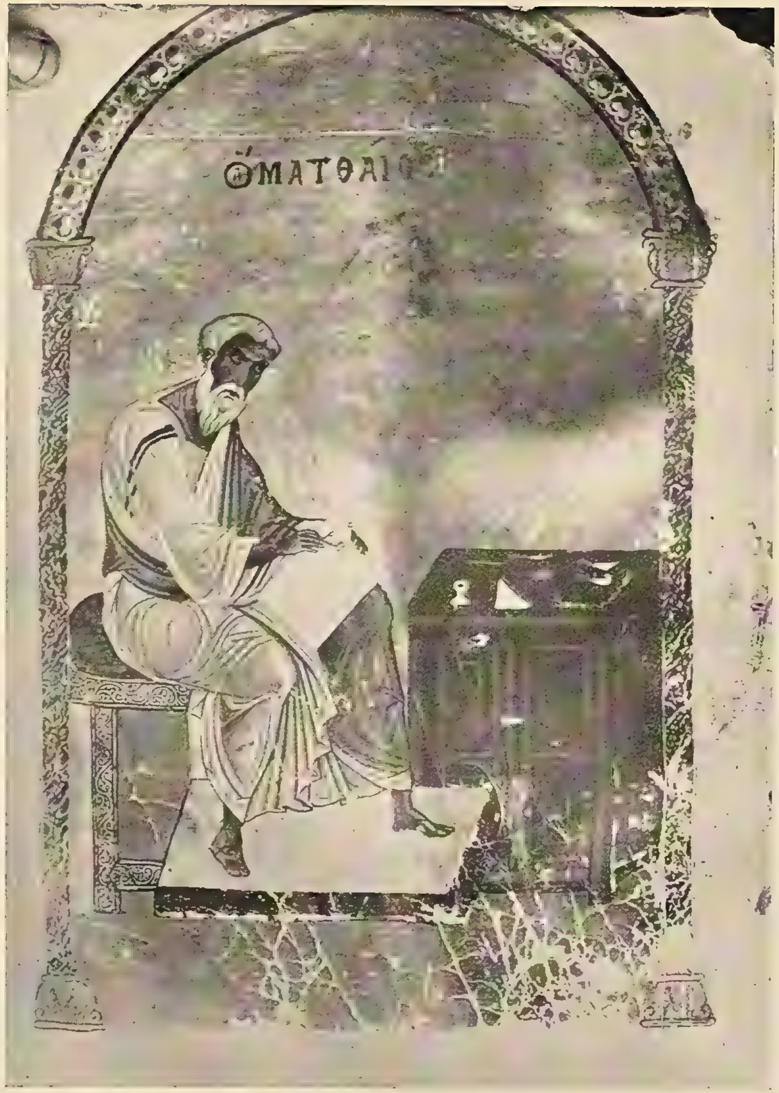
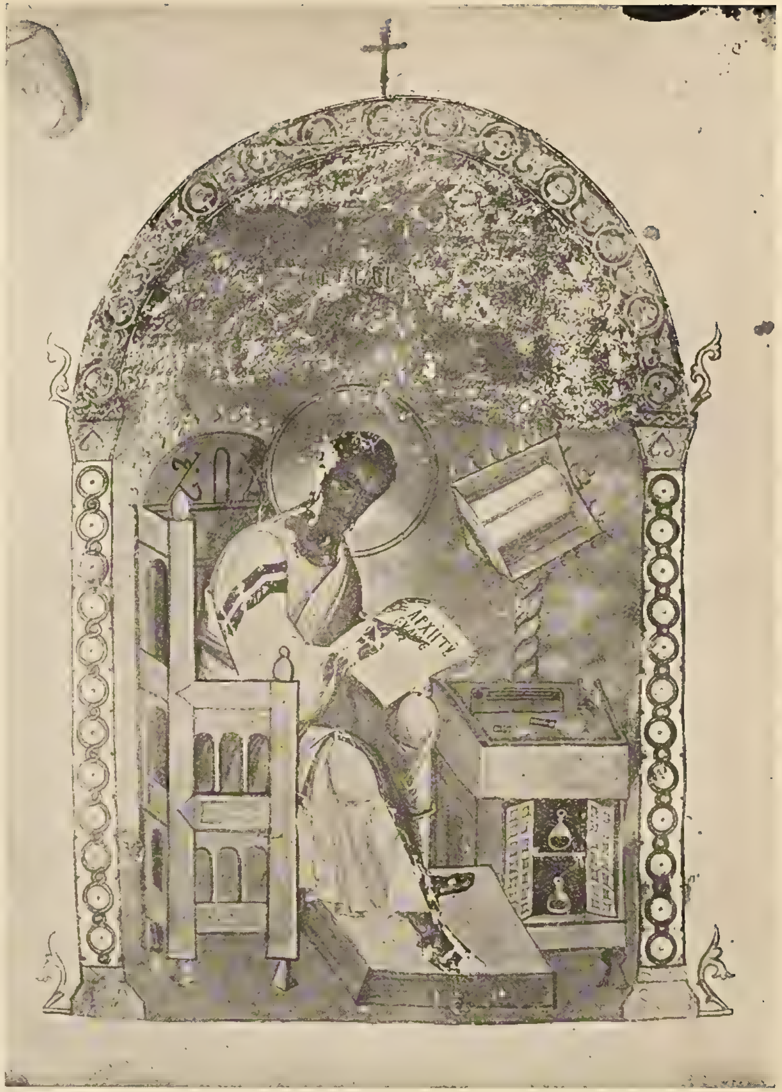
[1] Molinier, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Linas, *loc. cit.* Le triptyque est reproduit dans Munoz, *op. cit.*, pp. 106–108.

[2] Dalton, *Byzant. Art*, p. 228.



3. Constantinople. Bibliothèque de l'Ecole du Phanar.
Evangéliaire. Saint Mathieu



4. Constantinople. Bibliothèque de l'Ecole du Phanar.
Evangéliaire. Saint Marc

et la fin de l'inscription est conçue en une forme assez semblable, celle d'une invitation adressée aux apôtres pour qu'ils assurent la santé de Constantin:

Κωνσταντῖνον λυτρ(ο)ῦσθε παντοίων νόσ(ων)

lit-on sur le triptyque de la Casanatense, et sur le feuillet de Vienne:

Νέμοιτε λύτρον δεσπότῃ Κωνσταντίνῳ

La parenté est étroite entre les deux inscriptions et incline à penser que le Constantin du triptyque de la Casanatense est sans doute le même que le despote Constantin nommé sur nos diptyques. Faut-il en conséquence, allant plus avant dans la voie indiquée par Dalton, faire remonter plus haut encore la date du triptyque de la Casanatense? On remarquera que, pour le triptyque du Vatican, assez étroitement apparenté à celui de la Casanatense, Molinier et Linas proposent la date du quinzième siècle, Dalton celle du treizième, et Munoz une date plus ancienne encore.[1] Et il semble bien que ce dernier ait raison. Assurément, entre le triptyque de la Casanatense et celui du Vatican, il y a une différence de style, et davantage encore entre le premier de ces monuments et les ivoires de Dresde, de Venise et de Vienne. Mais, si l'on considère ces divers ouvrages, et aussi le triptyque Harbaville, on sera frappé d'un fait qui a peut-être quelque intérêt. Les saints représentés à la zone inférieure du volet central des trois triptyques sont les mêmes — à cela près que saint Jacques leur est adjoint — que ceux qui se rencontrent sur les feuillets de Dresde, de Venise et de Vienne; saint Jean le Théologue et saint Paul, qui nous intéressent ici plus directement, y ont la même attitude, la même façon de tenir le Livre Saint, les mêmes draperies; il semble que tous ces monuments constituent un même groupe, étroitement apparenté. Et on se demandera alors si, de même que le triptyque du Vatican est une réplique un peu postérieure du triptyque Harbaville, le triptyque de la Casanatense ne serait point, lui aussi, une réplique un peu postérieure d'un triptyque perdu, exécuté au onzième siècle pour l'un des empereurs du nom de Constantin pour qui on fit les plaques de Dresde, de Venise et de Vienne. Il se peut que la copie de cet original perdu ait été, au douzième ou au treizième siècle, faite pour un personnage nommé Constantin, et qui n'était point empereur: l'absence du titre dans l'inscription permettrait cette supposition. Mais je crois qu'on peut, sans témérité, voir dans la triptyque de la Casanatense comme un reflet d'un ouvrage du onzième siècle exécuté pour un empereur Constantin, celui-là même dont le nom figure sur le diptyque de Venise — Vienne et sur le feuillet de Dresde.

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[1] Molinier, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Dalton, *Byzant. Art*, p. 228; Munoz, *op. cit.*, pp. 112–113.

II

Le *Grünes Gewölbe* de Dresde possède un autre feuillet d'ivoire (*Elfenbein-Zimmer*, No. 51). Cette plaque, qui faisait partie d'un diptyque, dont l'autre feuillet, dit-on, est conservé à Hanovre, a été publiée déjà par Schlumberger[1] et par Venturi,[2] qui rapproche assez justement la belle figure du Christ de celle qui se rencontre sur le diptyque de Romain IV et d'Eudocie.[3] Dalton signale également ce petit monument et le rapporte au onzième siècle,[4] mais il y a peut-être quelque intérêt à en donner ici une bonne reproduction (Fig. 2).

Le feuillet mesure 22 centimètres, 8 en hauteur, 11, 9 en largeur. Les scènes qui y sont représentées sont, en haut l'apparition du Christ aux Maries, en bas l'*Anastasis*, auxquelles correspondent, sur le feuillet de Hanovre, la Crucifixion et la Descente de Croix. Il n'y a point lieu de commenter longuement ces thèmes iconographiques bien connus. Millet a montré comment la représentation que nous rencontrons ici — le Christ à droite, abaissant la main droite pour bénir les saintes femmes prosternées — est une des deux formes de la composition narrative, s'opposant à la composition monumentale, sous laquelle la scène nous apparaît dans les monuments.[5] On la rencontre dès le cinquième siècle sur les sarcophages et au sixième dans les mosaïques des Saints-Apôtres avec la légende: χαίρετε que nous trouvons sur notre ivoire; elle persiste sous cette forme au moins jusqu'au onzième siècle. On peut remarquer dans l'ivoire de Dresde que, selon l'usage,[6] l'attitude des deux femmes est un peu différente, l'une étant prosternée et touchant les pieds du Sauveur, l'autre inclinée seulement et relevant la tête et les mains dans un geste d'adoration. On observera que cette dernière figure représente la Mère de Dieu. Mais, à l'inverse des autres représentations de la scène,[6] elle ne se présente pas la première, et est moins proche du Christ que Madeleine. On notera enfin les deux arbres, palmier et cyprès, qui forment au fond de la scène comme un essai de paysage.

Le thème de l'*Anastasis* est plus connu encore.[7] Il suffira de remarquer que, dans l'ivoire de Dresde, le Prodrome, au lieu de précéder le groupe des justes, s'entretient avec les rois prophètes et que leur groupe, placé à gauche, fait pendant au groupe d'Adam et Eve relevés par le Christ. L'enfer est représenté

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[1] *L'épopée byzantine*, t. 11, p. 216 (feuillet de Dresde) et p. 217 (feuillet de Hanovre).

[2] *Storia dell arte italiana*, t. 11, p. 589.

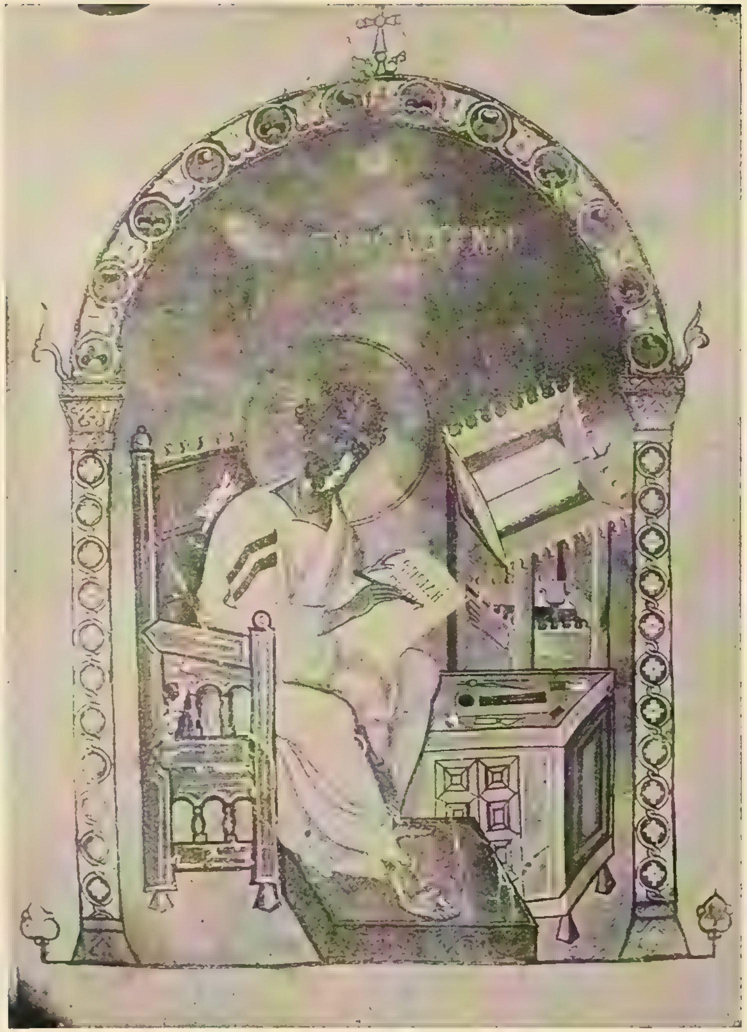
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 590.

[4] *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 230.

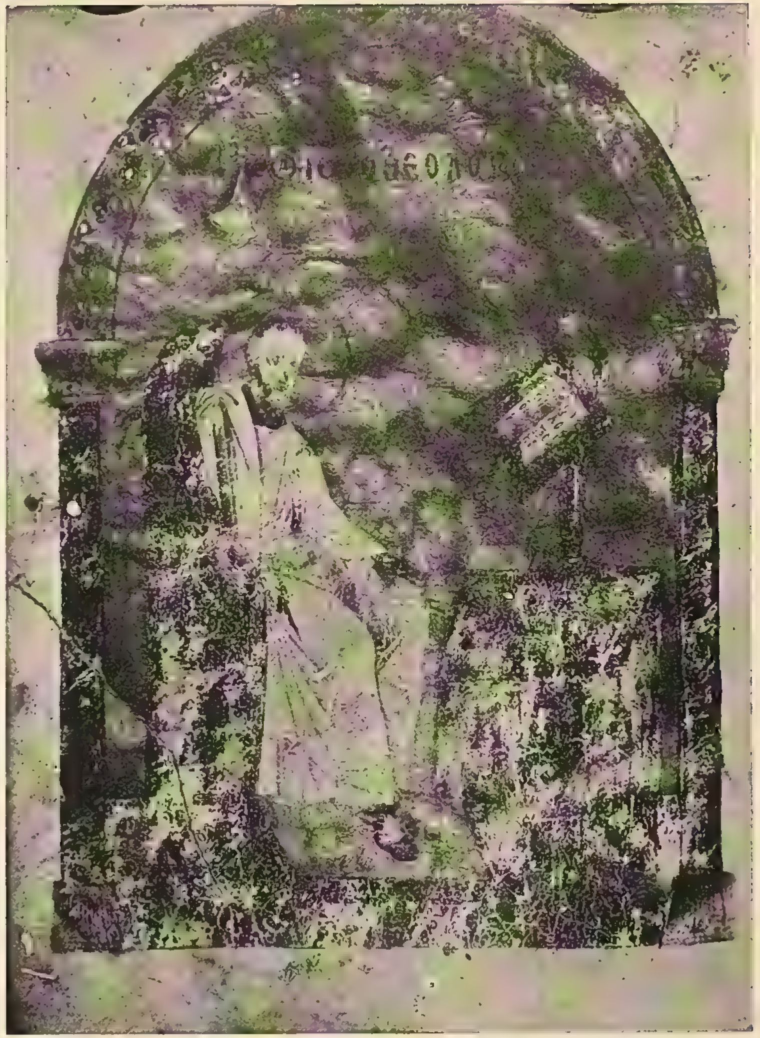
[5] Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Evangile*, p. 543.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 544.

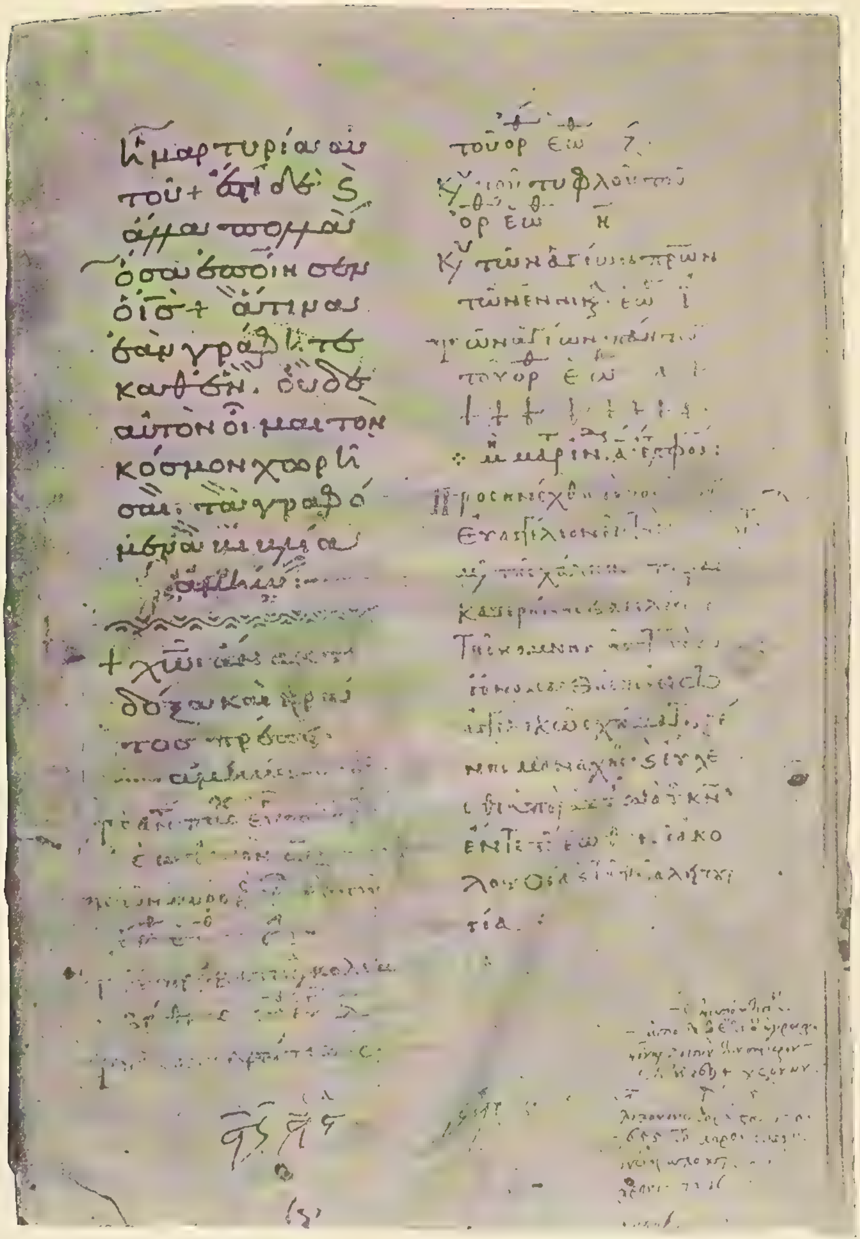
[7] Cf. Millet, *Mosaïques de Daphni* (*Monuments Piot*, t. 11, p. 204 et suiv.); Diehl, *Mosaïques byzantines de Saint-Luc* (*ibid.*, t. III, p. 232 et suiv.).



5. Constantinople. Bibliothèque de l'Ecole du Phanar.
Evangéliaire. Saint Luc



6. Constantinople. Bibliothèque de l'Ecole du Phanar.
Evangéliaire. Saint Jean



7. Constantinople. Bibliothèque de l'Ecole du Phanar.
Evangéliaire

par un personnage demi-nu, dont les mains et les pieds sont enchaînés; on ne voit point les portes brisées, aux ferrures arrachées, qui d'ordinaire apparaissent auprès de Satan renversé. Mais l'ensemble est fort remarquable, et l'ivoire de Dresde mérite de prendre place parmi les beaux ivoires du onzième siècle.

III

La bibliothèque de l'Ecole du Phanar à Constantinople possède un évangéliaire, dont j'ai déjà signalé ailleurs l'intérêt historique.[1] Il date vraisemblablement de la première moitié du onzième siècle. Je publie ici les quatre miniatures, représentant les quatre évangélistes, dont il est illustré (Figs. 3, 4, 5, 6.). Sous des arcades richement décorées, que supportent des colonnes à chapiteaux byzantins, les quatre personnages sont assis devant leur table ou leur pupitre, sur lequel sont représentés, avec un minutieux et curieux détail, leurs instruments de travail. Mathieu, Marc et Luc écrivent; saint Jean, selon l'usage, semble méditer en face de son évangile posé sur son pupitre. Cette dernière miniature est fort abîmée; les trois autres, mieux conservées, détachent sur un fond d'or uni les figures et les accessoires. On a souvent expliqué comment ces représentations dérivent des portraits d'auteur que l'art hellénistique plaçait volontiers en tête des ouvrages, et dont on trouve des exemples dans le *Virgile* du Vatican ou le *Dioscoride* de Vienne. On sait aussi combien ces portraits se rencontrent fréquemment dans les manuscrits byzantins des Evangiles. On les trouve dès le sixième siècle dans les évangiles de Rabula et de Rossano;[2] ils apparaissent dans la plupart des évangéliaires de date postérieure, tantôt assis, tantôt debout.[3] Les figures qui décorent le manuscrit de Constantinople ne se distinguent point du type général, si ce n'est par la minutie avec laquelle les accessoires sont traités. Elles ne sont point pourtant sans intérêt et méritent d'être signalées.

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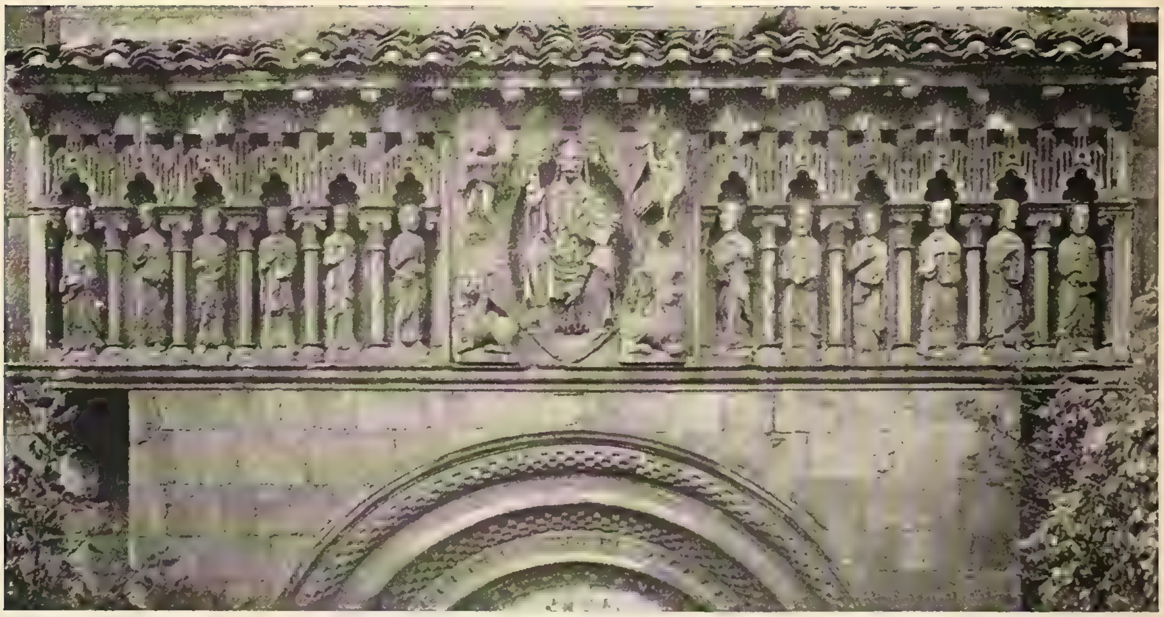
[1] Diehl, *L'évangéliaire de l'impératrice Catherine Comnène* (*C. R. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions*, 1922, p. 243).

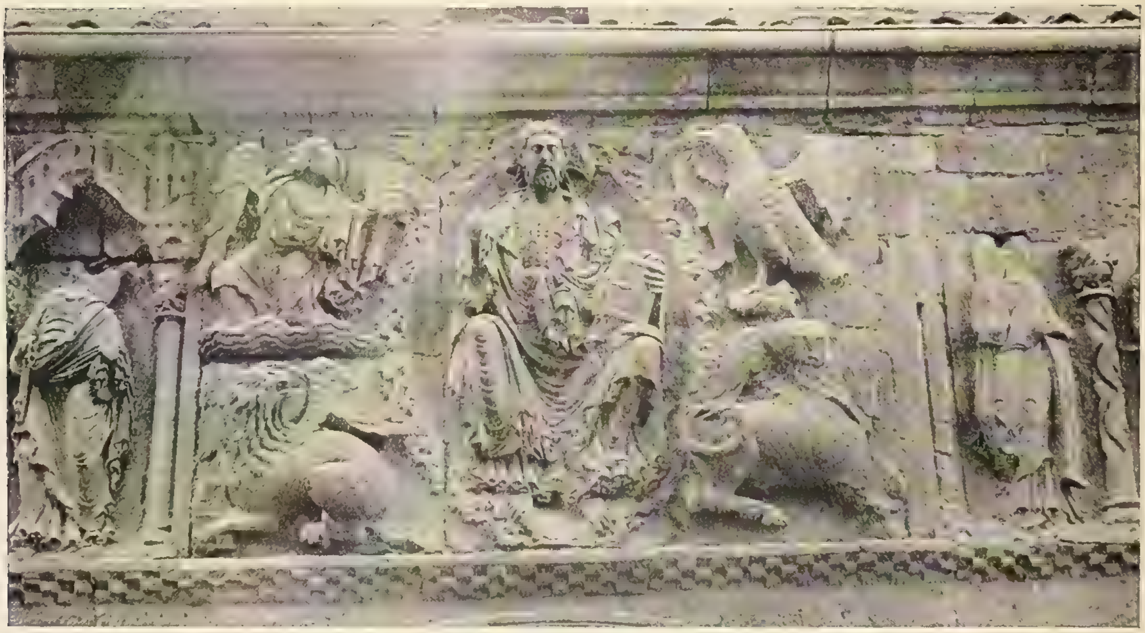
[2] Munoz, *Il codice purpureo di Rossano*, p. 15.

[3] Ebersolt, *La miniature byzantine*, p. 33.

APOSTOLADOS



1. Moarves. Apostolado. (Phot. Alonso)



2. Carrión de los Condes. Christ with the Tetramorph

APOSTOLADOS

By DOROTHEA C. SHIPLEY

The apostolado of the church of Santiago in Carrión de los Condes bears, as do few things in the entire range of Romanesque sculpture, the mark of a great creative artist. Its position as a work of intrinsic excellence is never disputed, but its derivation from and relation to other things are variously explained. The similar façade of Moarves is always coupled with it, and they are considered together. It appears, however, that there are several other apostolados in this region, so like these two in composition and placing, that there can be no possible doubt as to contact. A consideration of the distinction between this and other façade sculpture, its source, its peculiar regional crystallization, and its influence, reveals it as a thing of an unusually coherent and direct line of development.

Beginning with Moarves (Fig. 1) to define the type: Christ, enthroned, and surrounded by the four evangelical Beasts, is flanked on either side by the twelve Apostles, standing under a series of cusped tabernacles which are supported by colonnettes. The figures stand against the façade in a great band placed high enough to be unbroken by the archivolt of the portal. This is the type, and it is composed of elements — all of them common enough — which, taken together, make a unit more specific and better defined than do most plastic conceptions.

Moarves lies toward the north of the province of Palencia, near the little river Burejo, tributary to the Pisuerga, while, to the south, Carrión de los Condes is situated on the greatest of all the pilgrimage roads — that which runs from Puente la Reyna to Santiago. This was the road travelled by Aymery Picaud [1] in 1120, and from his itinerary we know that it ran through Castrogeriz, Itero del Castillo, crossed the Pisuerga, and went on to Frómista, Carrión de los Condes, Sahagún, thence to León, and finally to Santiago de Compostela.[2] Pilgrims from all the world passed that way, and many must have stopped at Carrión, for the great Benedictine abbey of S. Zoyl [3] made of it more than just a place along the Road. Here were monks and councils, here was wealth, and here, also, must have been the center toward which the life of the whole country-side was turned. Carrión and the lesser places round about were peculiarly liable to a thousand different influences, and the sifting of them is not easy.

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[1] For a consideration of the personality of Aymery Picaud and of the authenticity of the *Codex of Calixtus II*, see G. G. King, *The Way of Saint James*, vol. I, pp. 64 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, vol. III, Appendix xiv.

[3] The monastery was probably founded a little before 1051 by Doña Teresa, mother of Don Gómez Díaz of Carrión, and the relics were apparently translated from Cordova sometime previous to 1083. Cf. *España Sagrada*, vol. X, pp. 318 ff. Even in the early twelfth century it was noted as a place of importance; in 1116 certain relics were taken from S. Zoyl to Santiago; *Ibid.*, vol. XX, p. 223. Councils were held there in 1130, *Ibid.*, vol. XIX, p. 308; vol XX, pp. 487, 496; and in 1140, *Ibid.*, vol. XXVI, p. 261.

As possible parallels to Moarves and Carrión, have been suggested the upper part of the façade of Sta. Maria la Real of Sangüesa, and the top register of Ripoll.[1] At Sangüesa, above the portal, are two rows of figures. In the upper part, Christ and the Symbols are in a rectangular niche — this only to give room for the central theme — and to right and to left are Angels, who, like the Prophets in the lower row, stand under round-headed arcades supported by colonnettes. Below, in the spandrels, are various figures, set hap-hazard, as in a rebuilding, while in the tympanum, recut to fit a pointed arch, is a Last Judgment, and on the lintel, arcaded, a Madonna in the midst of the Apostles. The carved archivolts are set in the French manner, and incorporate with the jamb-shafts are three Queens, come straight from Chartres, and three male figures. The dating of the church is complicated, for the work must have extended over a long period of time, and the façade must have been rebuilt at least once. Alfonso el Batallador officially founded the town in 1132, but the church may well have been within his palace precincts before that date. The Queens of the jamb-shafts place one period of work after 1145 — Professor Porter fixes it at about 1155 [2]— by their likeness to Chartres, and the arcading would seem to have been arranged always as it is to-day, and to fall at that same date, 1155.

As the Queens point to Chartres, so the whole façade points back to France, but it is the upper portion which concerns us here. The arcading with its figures is like that of the Charente and thereabouts. At Angoulême (Charente) the façade of which was well along by the 1128 consecration,[3] the arcading of the second and third levels contains figures of Angels and Prophets, all beholding Christ and the Tetramorph. Again, at Notre Dame la Grande of Poitiers (Vienne), which follows close after Angoulême,[4] the arcading is in two rows. And this is distinctly a unit horizontally, for it is divided by a corbel table from the portal and sculpture-filled spandrels below. At Pérignac [5] (Charente-Inférieure), of about 1135,[6] and at Ruffec (Charente), of about 1140,[6] the Christs are placed high above a single and a double row of arcading respectively.

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[1] King, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 105, 106; Serrano-Fatigati, *Portadas Artísticas de Monumentos Españoles*, p. 33.

[2] *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, p. 254.

[3] Cf. Serbat, *La Cathédrale d'Angoulême* in *Congrès Archéologique de France*, 1912, pp. 4 ff.; Enlart, in Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. I, pt. 2, p. 477; Porter, *op. cit.*, pp. 303 ff.; Mély, in *Revue Archéologique*, 1920, pp. 293.

[4] Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 321.

[5] Cf. King, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 240, where Pérignac is cited as the sort of thing which served as a model for Sangüesa.

[6] Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

An earlier version of this type is the western façade of Azay-le-Rideau (Indre-et-Loire) which is left from the rebuilding of 1030.[1] Here, again, the arcading is in two rows. Christ, in the upper, stands with three figures on either side; in the lower are seven figures, one of which is mangled by the voussoirs of the pointed window. Whether or not there was originally an oculus here is not certain, but the lower row has the look of a once continuous motive. This would have made Azay-le-Rideau very near indeed to what Sangüesa turned out to be. In passing, I would note, for what it may be worth, the fact that where a colonnette — and here they are incorporate with the slab, not structural — is between two figures in the center of a single block, it stands alone; where two slabs meet, a colonnette is on the edge of each, and the coupled motive is the result.

Sangüesa, then, not very like the apostolado in arrangement to begin with, though similar enough in theme, is closely linked with the southwest of France in which it finds its source. The churches, furthermore, to which it points, are still less like Moarves and Carrión than is Sangüesa, and important though they were in their influence on many façade compositions, they cannot have been a determining factor in the case of the Palencia type.

As for the portal of Ripoll, considering only the uppermost register, Christ, enthroned, is adored by two Angels on either side, while beyond them, to right and to left respectively, are the Angel and the Eagle, and the four and twenty Elders. The Lion and the Ox are in the row below. Iconographically this upper register of the portal is not so far from the apostolado as it is plastically. Aside from the fact that these are the Elders, not the Apostles, even aside from the fact that this row is an incorporate part of a whole great page, and holds it together, crowning it with the Apocalyptic Vision, it has nothing to do with the unified composition of Moarves. Had the band of Ripoll been isolated and applied as a decorative motive, it would have come out more like a frieze of the type of St.-Gilles, or Montmorillon, or the cathedral of Nîmes, than like the apostolado.

To date Ripoll, furthermore, on evidence of style at 1160,[2] and to date the earliest apostolado by the same method, as we shall see, will exclude the former as a possible source for the latter, chronologically. Finally, various as have been the origins suggested for Ripoll,[3] not one of them offers a likely common ancestor for the great portal and the apostolado.

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[1] M. de Cougny, in *Bulletin Monumental*, 1869, pp. 332 ff.

[2] Porter, *op. cit.*, p. 256. Cf. Puig y Cadafalch, in *Bulletin Monumental*, 1925, p. 303.

[3] Aside from the consideration of stylistic derivations: Joseph Pijoan, *Les Miniatures de l'Octateuch à les Biblies Romaniques Catalanes* in *Institut d'Estudis Catalans, Anuari* MCMXI-XII, *Any* IV (Barcelona, 1913), comparison of *Bible of Farfa* with Ripoll portal; Wilhelm Neuss, *Die katalanische Bibelillustration um die Wende des ersten Jahrtausends und die altspanische Buchmalerei* (Bonn und Leipzig, 1922), for our purposes, the same; King, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 392, derived ultimately from a Roman triumphal arch.

As a theme in art, Christ and the Apostles were so common that mere similarity of representation can prove almost nothing as to contact. They are found in frescoes in Bawit and Saqqara, not to mention Catalonia, in Byzantine mosaics, on tympana and lintels, on altar-frontals and sarcophagi, as well as in manuscripts. As far as I have been able to make out, none of these, except altar-frontals and sarcophagi, provoke refutation as parallels.

The Catalonian frontals usually have the Apostles in two registers on either side of Christ. The gold and silver frontal which Aymery Picaud saw at Santiago,[1] was of this type, so, also, is that of Oviedo. But in arrangement, they are too far removed from the apostolado type to have influenced it. The same objection is valid for sculptured frontals of similar composition, like that of Avenas.

One enamel frontal there is, however, which, in composition, is as near Carrión as possible: the Limoges plaque in the museum of Burgos, taken there from Santo Domingo de Silos. Professor Porter thinks this frontal the inspiration for Carrión. He adds that the similarity in style[2] between the Annunciation of the Silos cloister and the Christ of Carrión shows contact, if not a single hand at work, that hence the Carrión sculptor must have been at Silos, and doubtless would have seen the frontal. The likeness between the Annunciation and the Christ, I cannot feel. Still the case might be very good, in spite of uncertainty of dating, for there are tabernacles and supporting colonnettes on the frontal, and Silos is not too far from Carrión. The only disproof would lie in better evidence for another source, and this, I feel, there is.

The early Christian sarcophagi, though similar enough in form, with Christ and the twelve Apostles in a single row, sometimes with columns, lie too far afield to be a plausible influence. The assumption of such an origin would be mere assumption.[3]

So much for refutation. Pilgrims on their way to Santiago did not fail to leave their mark behind them in Palencia. One who was returning stopped and worked there. He who was to become the master of two apostolados had seen the south transept portal at Santiago.

Aymery Picaud, writing of the Puerta de las Platerías while it was yet untouched — for it has been twice rebuilt — left this record: "Above the four doors[4] the upper zone, near the triforium level of the church, is beautifully resplendent with an admirable band of figures sculptured on slabs of white marble. There is a standing figure of the Lord, and St. Peter holding the keys in his hands is at his left, while the blessed James is at his right between two cypress trees; next him stands St. John his brother, while at the right and left are apostles and others." [1] The "band of figures" in its position above the portal is unmistakable. Here stood Christ with the Apostles on either side of Him. "Apostles and others," Aymery wrote. If one allows room for the Lord and the Twelve, evenly spaced according to the approximate size of the slabs of those which are left to us, there is still room for "others," two or three on each side. The fact, furthermore, that there were four Apostles on the door-jambs below, obviously would not have prevented their being repeated in this scene. The twelve Apostles must all have been there. Now the space above the Puerta de las Platerías required a long band of figures to fill it, for it stretched across a double portal, not a single one. When the apostolado master took over the band and used it as a purely decorative motive, which was no longer limited by structural requirements, he made it a unit in theme, and kept only Christ and the Apostles. Iconographically, the standing Christ of the Puerta de las Platerías is not the Christ of Moarves and Carrión. Such an one our sculptor saw, however, at Santiago, for of the north transept portal Aymery Picaud says: "Above the shaft between the two portals, on the outer side, there is let into the wall the seated figure of our Lord in Majesty; with his right hand He gives benediction, and in his left He holds a book. And round about his throne are the four Evangelists, as if supporting the throne." [2]

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[1] Cf. Lopez Ferreiro, *Historia de la Santa A. M. Iglesia de Santiago de Compostela*, vol. III, pp. 233 ff., and Appendix, p. 19.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 251.

[3] In Michel, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pt. 2, p. 613, Enlart derives the motive of the façade of Azay-le-Rideau from Latin sarcophagi.

[4] That is, four small doors; Aymery has said above that the south portal has two entrances.

The motive of the tabernacles, which are "heavenly Jerusalems," [3] was an old one and common, and might have been picked up by the artist almost anywhere along the Way. The combining of them with the figures is little enough invention to leave to a mind and hand which proved to be as great as his.[4]

The source of the façade sculptures at Santiago would seem to have been, ultimately, Armenia. There is evidence in the architecture for such an influence, and decoration and structure might have come together. The contacts and their sequence, however, have not been completely established, but the likenesses are there.[5]

To return to Palencia where the master and others after him worked: the apostolado of Moarves (Fig. 1) is on the south side of the church, and is placed above a projecting portal which recalls the Lombard type. The whole thing is well preserved, and shows practically no signs of restoration, in spite of the inscription above which fixes the date of a general going over of things at 1869. The corbelled horizontal member running above the tabernacle carries the little tile roof which is the covering for the apostolado. The wall above this is again corbelled at the line of the main roof. At Carrión (Figs. 2–4), where the church of Santiago was rebuilt in 1849 — there had been a disastrous fire in 1811 — the apostolado is set into the wall which now corresponds, ritually, to the west façade. The Señor Cura of Saint Mary Roadside informed us, however, that originally, whether in this wall or another, the sculpture had been placed on the south side. All of the tabernacles and some of the colonnettes to the left of Christ have been lost, and several of the Apostles' heads. Now Moarves, as I have said, is always coupled with Carrión and is termed the copy. The likeness in style of the two Christs is so marked that contact of the closest sort is indisputable. If the one is the copy of the other, Carrión certainly will be the original, for the quality of its work in richness and maturity is that of no copyist. If, on the other hand, both are the work of the same master, Moarves in its aridity is the first essay of one who was to free his style completely at Carrión. Evidence, both internal and external, leads to this conclusion.

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[1] Text in Lopez Ferreiro, *op. cit.*, vol. III, Appendix ii. Translation from K. J. Conant, *The Early Architectural History of the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela*, p. 54.

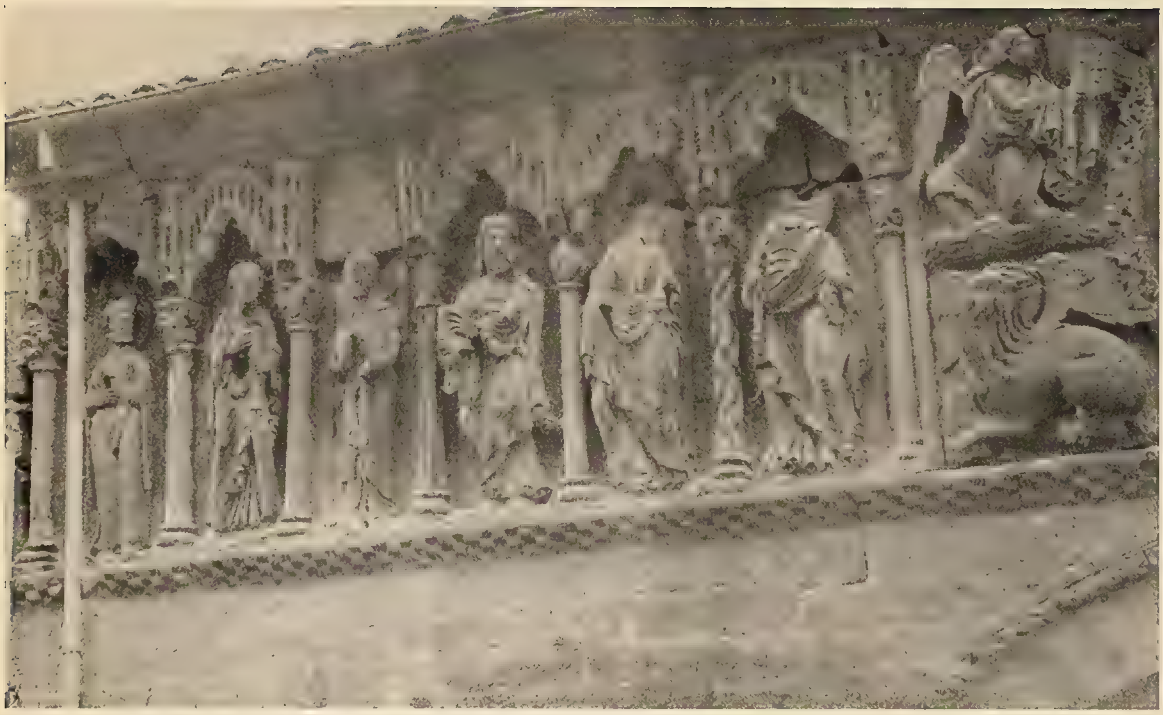
[2] Lopez Ferreiro, *loc. cit.*; Conant, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

[3] King, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 320.

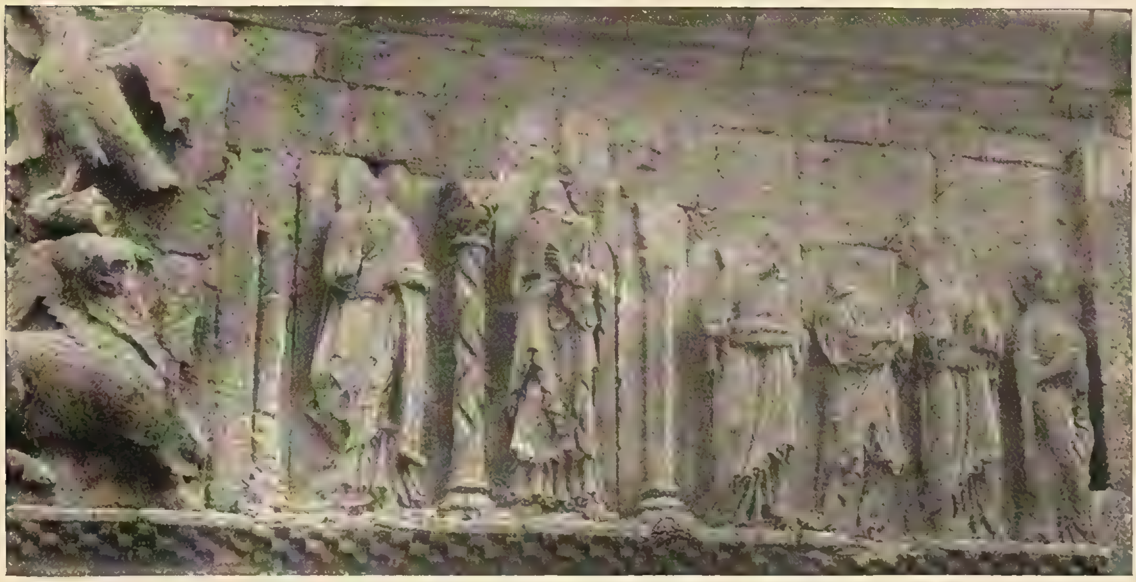
[4] For the development of these canopies and similar ones, see Porter, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 ff.

[5] Cf. Conant, *op. cit.*, p. 15, for the architectural situation.

To begin with the two Christs (Figs. 1, 2): the mantle falls about the neck and from the uplifted hand, it sags between the knees and clings about the legs in the same manner in both. The tunic of the one is the tunic of the other, so likewise the ample skirt falling about the feet. If Moarves is a copy, it is strange that these main lines of drapery should have been grasped so well, and that the artist should have fallen to the level of stylization in depicting the rest of it by means of insistent repetition of many identical parallel folds. This has the look, rather, of one whose hand is not yet equal to his ideas. Again the folds of his mantle where it is looped over itself have the sort of elaboration which might well have been misunderstood by a copyist, and have come out as meaningless twisting which only filled in the space; but at Moarves the thing is intelligible as representation; the artist knew what he was about. The draperies of the Christs are too alike to be by separate hands. No man, I think, could have reproduced Carrión in Moarves from memory as nearly as this, and, if by any conceivable chance he had worked on the Christ with the separate slabs of stone somewhere within sight of the Carrión figure, he would have come out better in the lesser details. Who, failing to grasp the method of the rich turnings of the hem of the Carrión skirt, would have made Moarves as it is? Rather he would have ended in having an unintelligible series of crazy folds. Again, the same sort of thing applies to the evangelical Symbols. The little, separate, decorative motives which are beautiful and fresh at Moarves, though not so exquisite



3. Carrión de los Condes. Six Apostles



4. Carrión de los Condes. Six Apostles. (Phot. G. G. King)

as at Carrión, tell the same story. The embroidery about the neck of the tunic is almost identical in both — a little more complicated and plastic at Carrión. The crisp-cut fleur-de-lys nimbus of Moarves is not a thing copied from the nimbus of Carrión, which has a sort of edging with dots, and comes out as a cross-marked halo of peculiarly lovely curves. The dots and the edging would have been kept, in a copy, and the contours lost; but the fleur-de-lys has contours of its own. The motive of the mandorlas, however, is the thing that counts. The two are conceived alike and felt plastically. At Moarves the pattern is a diaper variety, and though the repetition of the parts is regular there is nothing monotonous or perfunctory in the final design. At Carrión the elements of the tridimensional diaper motive are still recognizable, though much freer. The intertwinings are double-stranded and waved, and instead of the little geometric four-pointed crosses of Moarves, there are lovely opened lilies of five or six petals. The mandorla here has that sort of unconscious variety which makes of an ornament a living thing. At Moarves and at Carrión, then, there are those very differences and similarities which point to a single master's hand, and negate the presence of a copyist. Furthermore, the capitals of the doorway at Moarves are carved with the same little figures as are set about the archivolt of Carrión. Finally, the Apostles of Moarves, several of whom have their legs crossed in the convention of walking, were done, at least in great part, by the hand of the master workman; compare them with the Angel, and compare their vertical-falling, zigzag folds of drapery with the robes of the Lord. Between these and the Carrión Apostles the differences are of the same sort as between the two Christs.

Consideration of the Apostles brings us to the external evidence. At Moarves their style was taken directly from that same portal from which the apostolado was derived.[1] The heads of some, such as those of the third (Simon), fourth, and fifth on Christ's right (counting always from the center) and the first and fifth on his left, are very close indeed to the Christ of the Puerta de las Platerías at Compostela. The beards and hair are done in the same way, and the cheek bones are high. Equally similar is the drapery. The mantles falling over the skirt beneath, and the even, repeated turnings of the edges of the folds — as in the St. James, last on Christ's right, and the St. Andrew, fourth on his left — are, at Moarves, close to the draperies of the St. James of the Platerías, and of the two Apostles at his right. Furthermore, four at least of the Moarves corbels are figured, and several are carved with rosettes. Now the corbels of the Puerta de las Platerías are beasts, and set between them are rosettes and flowers.

The fact that Moarves is so near Santiago in style is another argument in favor of the supposition that the Puerta de las Platerías was the source of the apostolado. Furthermore, it places Moarves earlier than Carrión, as being more like the source. And this in turn supports the conclusion, arrived at from internal evidence, that the two are by the same hand.

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[1] For illustrations, see Porter, *op. cit.*, Ill. 676.

When the master of Moarves was called to work at Carrión (Figs. 2–4), he was doubtless given assistants from the great monastery of S. Zoyl. In any case, neither of the two figures at the extreme ends of the apostolado can be from his hand. They are the work of far less skillful artists, probably not of this region. Of the other Apostles, the first three — the third is St. James — and the fifth on Christ's right, and the first, second, and fourth on his left, are by the master. The rest are marked with his style, but are not so near the Christ as these.

The year 1103 [1] when the Puerta de las Platerías was finished is the *terminus a quo* for the dating of Moarves. Carrión, however, as Professor Porter has shown by numerous stylistic comparisons, must be of about 1165. At least, 1168, as the year when Master Matthew started work at Santiago, is the *terminus ante quem* in this case, since the apostolado master did not know the Pórtico de la Gloria. Allowing him time to develop his style after the completion of his first work, or even allowing him various journeys to places from which he seems to have drawn at Carrión, will put Moarves at least a decade earlier, say at about 1155.

With Moarves toward the north of Palencia, and Carrión on the Road, it was not long before the apostolado had become a type which crystallized in this immediate region, as if a local plastic tradition, established since Roman times, was quickening and defining the process. To the continuity of this tradition, several tombs throughout the province bear special testimony. In the Templars' church of Villasirga there are two; and another there was done by the same hand as one in Aguilar de Campóo; two more from the monastery of Aguilar are now in the museum in the city of Palencia.[2] But these are of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. A manuscript, earlier, bears traces of a tridimensional usage — the sort of thing no one would paint on a plane surface unless he had first seen it in high relief or the round. Such, for instance, is a mandorla in the Beatus manuscript of 970 in Valladolid, which, represented as wound with a band or vine like a spiral and with blossoms of some sort between the turnings, foreshadows that of Carrión.

Southeast of Moarves, and near the Burejo, is the little town of Zorita del Paramo. Here, above the southern portal of its Romanesque church is an

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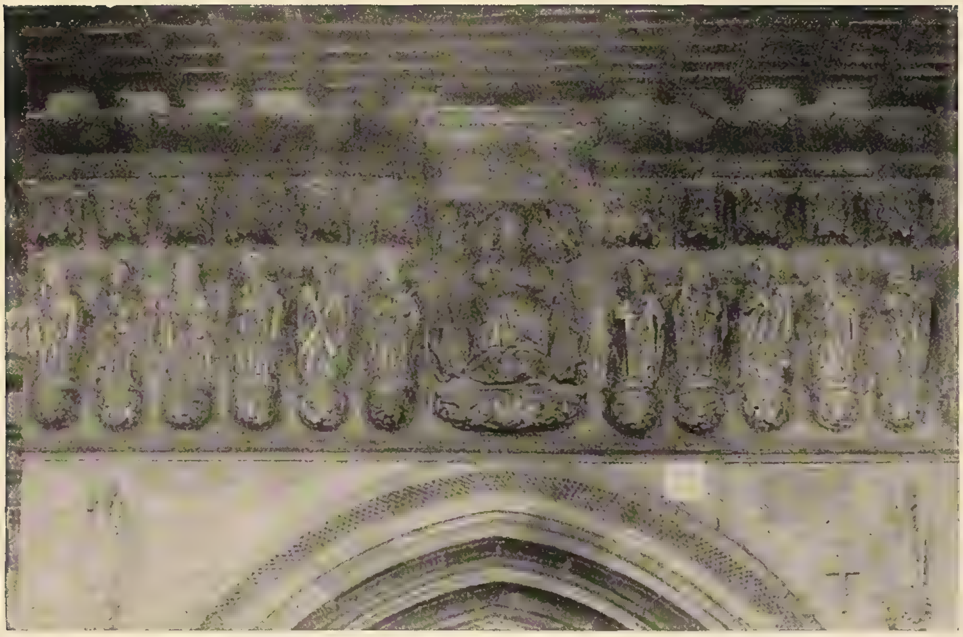
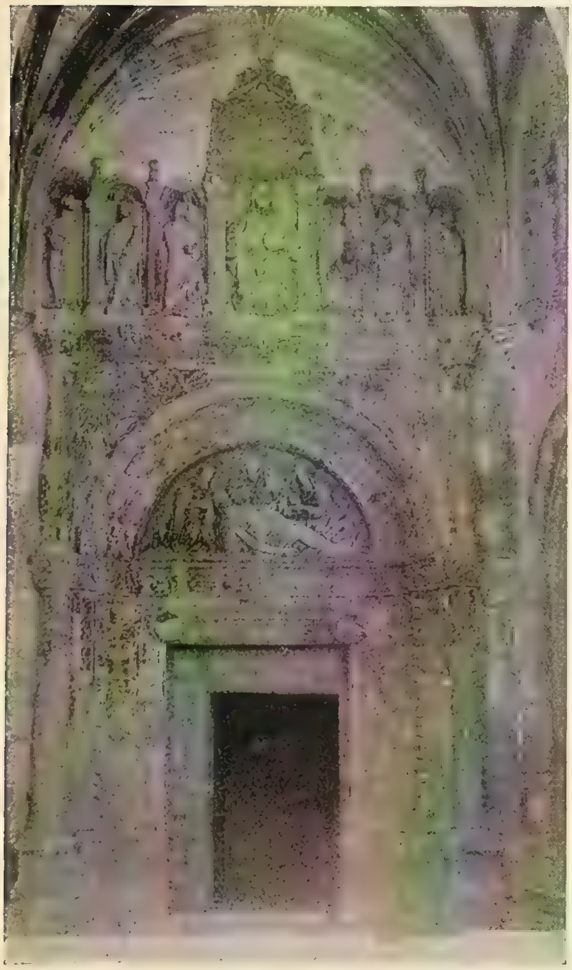
[1] Professor Porter, in *Art Bulletin*, vol. VIII, no. 4, p. 248, cites Gómez-Moreno's reading of the inscription on this portal. He believes it to be 1103 and not 1078. See his *Provincia de León, Catálogo Monumental de España* (Madrid), *Ministerio de Instruccion Publica*, 1925, 2 vols. Cf. Conant, *op. cit.*, p. 22, note 1, where he cites this reading and prefers the dating of 1078 as formerly accepted.

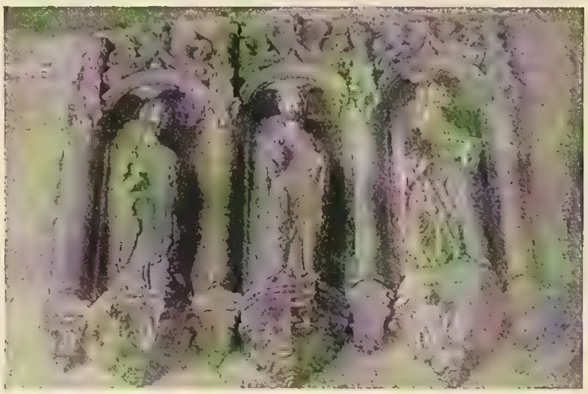
[2] I am indebted to Dr. Navarro of the city of Palencia for sending me photographs of these tombs, and information concerning them.



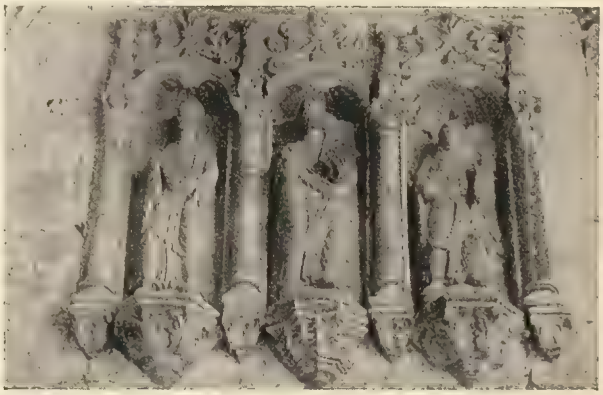
8. Pison de Castrejon. Apostolado



5. Zorita del Paramo. Portal and Apostolado



6. Zorita del Paramo. Three Apostles



7. Zorita del Paramo. Three Apostles

apostolado (Figs. 5–7), restored, painted, and rearranged, but unmistakably twelfth century in date. The church, in plan, is cruciform, with a single eastern apse and a single nave of four bays. Along the south wall runs a portico, which is low and timber-roofed for the space of the two western bays, but high and vaulted over the portal — which opens into the third. Then to the east the portico meets the exterior wall of a salient chapel. Of the figures, Christ and six Apostles are above the portal, three are in the chapel wall, and three in the porch wall opposite. Obviously they are not in their original niches, for the slabs against which the figures stand make no pretense of fitting the inverted shells above them. The niches and the door are clearly of a single building and of the sixteenth century. The date of 1853 above the portal is the time of the painting of it. The portico, except the present vaulting, is Gothic. The original Romanesque wall was doubtless a free space, in which the figures were placed in a single row of niches above the door. There may have been a projecting portal here as at Moarves, but the rebuilding has left no traces of it.

The original Christ must have been destroyed when the apostolado was dismantled, for the present Christ, blessing, and holding the globe, was evidently sculptured along with the sixteenth century portal. As a late work, this figure tells us nothing of the iconographical type of the Romanesque statue it replaces. The heads of the Apostles are so thickly painted that one can say nothing of their style, but the draperies place the figures in the last quarter of the twelfth century. The freedom of the walking movement and the swaying folds of the mantles show a knowledge of Carrión, and give the Zorita Apostles a certain vigor even beside those which are so much greater than they.

North of Carrión de los Condes by the space of a day's journey, and just west of the road which runs the entire length of Palencia and on into Santander, lies Pison de Castrejon (Figs. 8, 9). The church, dedicated to Nuestra Señora de la Asuncion, is of a single nave, five bays long, with a sixth bay to the east, narrower, and terminating in an apse. On the south side a chapel is built out from the easternmost bay of the nave, while the projecting portal, above which is the apostolado, opens into the central bay. A timber-roofed portico runs from the chapel at the east to a wall at the west, built high to carry the bells, and against it is placed a narrow stair which connects with a choir-loft inside. The church is Romanesque, the chapel and portal are Gothic, while the date of the portico is not determinable. Above the apostolado, and along the wall on the same level, is a line of corbels which may once have carried the eaves as at Moarves. The disposition of this portal, in its relation to the nave and the southern chapel, is just what the disposition of the Zorita portal must originally have been, if we substitute the chapel of the former for the transept of the latter. The similarity points to contact, and the existence of a local architectural type.

Across the entire breadth of the projecting portal stretches the apostolado with its figures.[1] The colonnade has been omitted. Individual corbel members, carved with leafage and the heads of the Prophets, support the Apostles, and individual canopies, attached to the wall, cover them. There are two Angels under the corbel which supports the central group, and the canopy above it is raised higher than the others. Here, again, is the Apocalyptic Christ, and his interlaced mandorla is reminiscent of Carrión. These Apostles are more easily identified than are those of the earlier works, as fewer of them carry like attributes. St. James, with his hat, cloak, wallet, and staff, has the third place on Christ's right as at Carrión. The portal itself is slightly pointed, with jambs and archivolts of five orders. In either spandrel stands the statue of a bishop.

The apostolado of Pison belongs to the late fourteenth century. The canopies, elaborately, almost delicately wrought, can scarcely be earlier than this date, although the figures, in their comparative simplicity, retain much from an earlier time. But the two are not incompatible. Decoration is wont to run a little in advance of serious sculpture, and to pick up new forms more quickly; also, it can be imported bodily, as it were, and employed unchanged and unrelated while the tradition of the figure work still continues. Too late by far to have been influenced stylistically by Carrión, the apostolado was derived thence only in general arrangement. The sculptor, moreover, or the builder, seems to have known Moarves and Zorita as well; such is the inference drawn from the projecting portal and the disposition of the southern wall.

Traspeña is but a short way from Pison de Castrejon, and a spine of granite rocks separates it from Castrejon de la Peña. The parish church of S. Salvador (Fig. 10) replaces an earlier one, and was once part of a Benedictine abbey.[2] This meant that Traspeña was in constant intercourse with the monastery of S. Zoyl, and that her monks, coming and going, frequently saw the apostolado of Carrión's pilgrimage church. S. Salvador, in plan, is cruciform, with a square-ended eastern chapel, and, as at Zorita and Pison, a single nave, but of only two bays' length. The portal opens into the bay next the southern transept. As at Pison, where the chapel affords the eastern end of the portico, and the wall of the bells, with the stair, affords the western, so, here, the transept and a similar wall make the two ends of the timber-roofed portico.

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[1] I wish to express my appreciation of the kindness of Dr. D. Matías Vielva Ramos, Keeper of the Archives, and Professor of Christian Archaeology of the Seminario Conciliar de S. José, Palencia. It was he who first told me of the existence of Pison, Traspeña, and Castrejon.

[2] So said the Señor Cura, and I am indebted to him. The date of 1517 as the first year of the records which will be mentioned below, is also from him.

Again the portal member is projecting, and again, as at Pison, statues — here the Virgin and St. Catherine of Alexandria — are placed in the spandrels left by the archivolt of the door.

Quite free in the depth of the projecting portion stands the apostolado, the figures in pairs. They are separated by colonnettes which support a sort of cornice, elaborately carved with leafage and cusped pinnacles and crocketing. Raised in the central part to give room for Christ with the Tetramorph, it recalls the similar placing of the central canopy of Pison. The Apostles no longer stand there like so many idols, however beautiful they may be, but are endowed with a certain humanity which marks them as the product of a later age. The characterization of their attitudes, and the broad, general treatment of their draperies, point to the early sixteenth century. Furthermore, the cornice and the colonnettes, taken together, have the aspect of something derived from the classic post and lintel system. So long did late Gothic and early Renaissance run side by side, that cusped, Gothic arches with their crocketing have been applied to a Renaissance form; but it is the latter which dominates the whole. The round-arched crossing of the church, and the lierne vaulting of the chapel also indicate the early sixteenth century. According to the Señor Cura, 1517 is the year when the record books begin, and by hypothesis may be connected with the date of building, or, rather, of rebuilding where an earlier structure had been.

At Castrejon, moreover, the church of Sta. Maria del Castillo has a projecting portal, and over the door is a row of five empty niches, reminiscent, in placing, of the apostolado. These niches and the colonnettes between them are nearly identical with the niches of the rebuilt apostolado of Zorita del Paramo. The likeness cannot be coincidence. Zorita and Castrejon were building at the same time, or nearly so, as was Traspeña. This outburst of activity doubtless resulted from what was going on at Carrión where the cloister of S. Zoyl was under construction throughout the early part of the sixteenth century.[1] A community, already active, could easily have spared workmen, especially for Traspeña, which, too, was Benedictine.

Of one other apostolado, long since destroyed, there is record. Just west of Carrión lies Benevívere, where, at its Augustinian convent, were the sculptures which Ponz saw and described: "Over the door of the church is an apostolado, and in the midst the Chariot of Ezekiel, in which goes the Savior of the world, drawn by the animals of the Apocalypse." [2] This is not so different iconographically from the Christ with the Tetramorph as it would seem, for the Middle Age identified [3] the four faces of Ezekiel's vision with the four

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[1] Ponz, *Viage de España*, vol. XI, p. 198; Quadrado, *Valladolid, Palencia y Zamora*, pp. 498 ff.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 205.

[3] Cf. Ezek. I, 10, 20, and X, 14, and Rev. IV, 7. M. Gabriel Millet has most kindly called to my attention two Ascensions in which the Christ goes in the Chariot of Ezekiel. One of them, photographed by M. Clédat, and un-

Apocalyptic Beasts, and the two themes, artistically, were similar. Thus the Benevívere sculptures, close to Carrión iconographically, plastically conformed to type. The church which Ponz saw looked later than the Romanesque edifice founded by Don Diego Martínez, and he places its date at 1382, in which year Don Diego Gómez Sarmiento was rebuilding there.[1] The apostolado might have belonged to this epoch, but was more probably Romanesque, and kept over from the demolished church. In any case, it was close to Carrión, and thence it was derived.

These are the apostolados of Palencia: Moarves and Carrión, Zorita del Paramo, Pison de Castrejon and Traspeña, and, no longer existent, Benevívere.

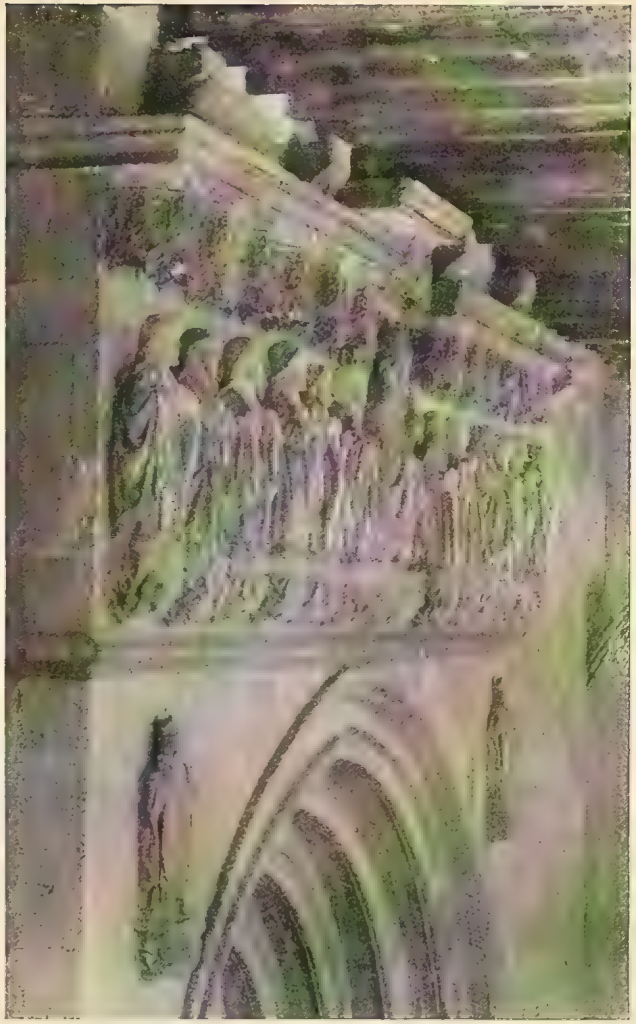
As at Castrejon there is a decorative motive of niches which was an offshoot of the apostolado type, so at Carrión, in the church of Sta. Maria del Camino, there is, in the placing of the sculptures above the southern portal, direct borrowing from the church of Santiago there. The Epiphany, Herod, and the Massacre of the Innocents make up the frieze which was turned at the ends when the porch was built. Though inferior to the apostolado figures, these are nearly contemporary with them. Here, below in the spandrels, are figures, and one of them is Samson with the Lion. Now this theme is carved on one of the doorway capitals at Moarves.

Once again, not of the type, but drawn from it: at Villacázar de Sirga (Fig. 11), on the Road a few leagues eastward of Carrión, there is a Templars' church, and above the door there extends a double row of arcading with figures. The portal opens into the southern side aisle in the bay adjacent to the salient transept, and is preceded by a portico of a single bay, built in the angle, and as high as the nave. Archivolts in the exterior of the transept wall show that a portal once opened there, making two entrances from the portico into the church; an arch, opposite, facing westward, still gives access to the portico on that side. Lampérez[2] has observed that from certain traces of earlier vaulting we may conclude that the porch once extended along the southern wall, but at aisle, not nave, height. Furthermore, the band of figures above the portal turns the corner at the western end, in that part of the wall of the portico. This is the arrangement as it stands to-day.

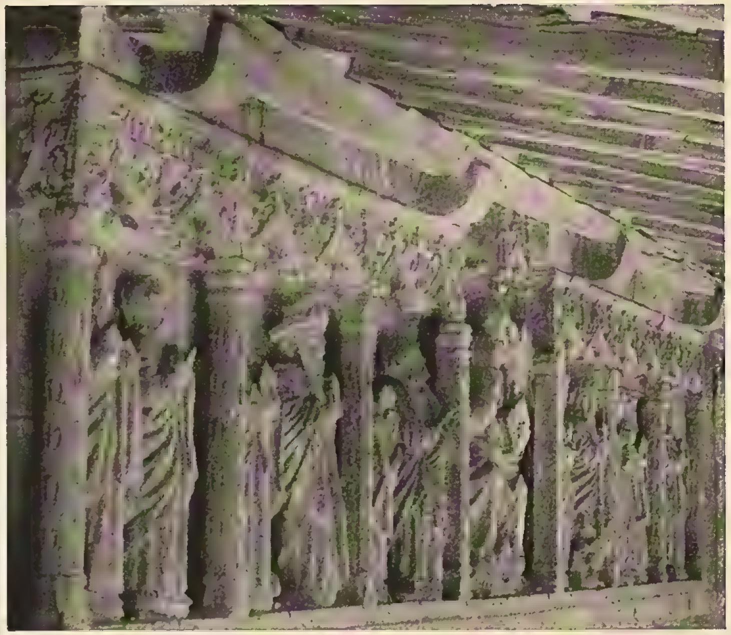
published, is a fresco at Bawit. Here, Christ, in a mandorla, is surrounded by the Beasts, and below the mandorla, as if supporting it, are the Wheels of Fire. The other, published by Garucci, *Storia del Arte Cristiana*, vol. III, pl. 139, is from the sixth century manuscript of Rabula. Here, Christ is surrounded by four Angels, while below the mandorla, and supporting it, is the Cherub with the four heads and the one hand, and on either side the Wheels of Fire. In a sixth century Syriac manuscript, in eighth century Coptic churches (see Clédat for further examples) the motive then is found, and vestiges of it appear in several Catalonian apse-frescoes of the twelfth century, and in Suger's window at St.-Denis. (Published respectively by Institut d'Estudis Catalans, and Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIIIme Siècle*, p. 206.)

[1] Ponz, *op. cit.*, p. 204. Cf. also Llaguno y Amirola, *Noticias de los Arquitectos y Arquitectura de España*, vol. I, p. 70.

[2] *La Iglesia de Templarios de Villacázar de Sirga* in *Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones*, 1903, pp. 172 ff.



9. Pison de Castrejon. Apostolado



10. Traspeña. Apostolado. (Phot. G. G. King)

In 1274 the Infante Don Felipe died, and his wife soon after him. Their tombs stand in the western part of the Templars' church. Lampérez assumes that the building began at the east end, and was nearly completed by this time. Supported by Quadrado's[1] observation of the fact that a sepulchre here in the chapel of Santiago is by the same hand as another in Aguilar de Campóo, that is, by Anton Pérez de Carrión, and made for one dead in 1305, he places the last of the building operations including the erection of the portico at this time. The porch figures are half a century earlier than the portal, and apparently were not meant for their present place. Christ, enthroned, and with the Tetramorph, is in the center above, with six Apostles — the last two have turned the corner — on his right, and only four on his left. Below is the Madonna, with the three Kings and another on her right, and on her left, the Annunciation and St. Joseph: or may not this figure and the other be the last two Apostles?

The sculptures, made earlier and for another portal, seem to have been placed here when the portico was first built, and whatever changes they may have undergone later, one thing is certain: from Villasirga, Zorita del Paramo (Fig. 6) derived its portico, and, later, the Renaissance placing of its apostolado. From France, and from Carrión, came the arrangement of the Villasirga figures as first intended, with no porch to cramp their space. The whole recalls Sangüesa, but does not resemble it; yet it points to the Charente. The tabernacles are very nearly those of Carrión.

Beyond the limits of Palencia, to the north, and to the east, workmen left record that they had passed through Carrión. So testify the apostolados in the west of France and Cantabrian Spain, at Mimizan, and at Santillana del Mar, and so, in Navarre, testifies the apostolado at Estella. From Estella, Olite and Artajona drew.

The church at Mimizan (Landes) was Benedictine, and had been founded in the tenth century, but was built in great part during the twelfth. To-day, Christ, the Tetramorph, and ten Apostles stand in a row above the portal. Below in the spandrels stand the other two. As the figures are set quite separate from one another, they make no pretense of having been always thus.[2] Professor Porter has observed[3] that the arrangement here was doubtless like that at Carrión. No traces of colonnettes or canopies are left, so far as I can tell, but the figures are like enough to Carrión in style to suggest still further imitation in the use of their similar tabernacles. The draperies are twisted and deeply cut as there, but do not swing free, for they are encumbered with meaningless elaborations. The mandorla, four-lobed in this case, consists of a continuous motive of leaves curled back on themselves along the edges. It does not resemble the Carrión mandorla, but both are

[1] Quadrado, *op. cit.*, p. 500.

[2] Porter, *op. cit.*, Ill. 490, 491.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 253.

carved and deeply undercut, and the resulting shadows are dark. The Mimizan Christ and Apostles are aged, and have wrinkled brows, as if, perchance, their artist, passing beyond Carrión, had made the entire pilgrimage, and had seen the Moses and others of the Pórtico de la Gloria. Their time falls in the last years of the twelfth century.

In Santander, not too far from that same road which runs past Traspeña, and on, northward, connecting finally with Mimizan, lies Santillana del Mar. Above the southern portal, and incorporate with the great blocks of stone of which it is built, is a row of figures. Christ, enthroned, and in a plaited mandorla, is upheld by four Angels, while on either side range twelve personages. Amador de los Rios has fully described them.[1] The last two on Christ's right, he thinks, are twins, because they hold a single staff between them. Several of the others are Abbots, he says, and one is St. Benedict. That a sculptor should have been so free with his treatment of the Apocalyptic theme seems unlikely, and there is nothing about the figures, defaced as they are, to prevent their being, as elsewhere, the Apostles. Santillana was, moreover, originally Benedictine, and, although changed to a *colegiata* under Alfonso VII,[2] once having been in close touch with Carrión, would have continued so. As far back as 1043 Ferdinand I had given the monastery dominion over the territory from Aguilar de Campóo to the sea,[3] so intercourse with northern Palencia, at least, is authenticated. The existing church, judging from its style,[4] was built, in great part, under Alfonso VIII. The apostolado, inferior though it is, must belong in the late twelfth century. The mandorla is reminiscent, vaguely, of Carrión, but the tabernacles seem to have been omitted from the beginning. Professor Porter points out that below, in one of the spandrels, there is a head which resembles the bust now in the spandrel of the Puerta de las Platerías.[5] This, with the absence of tabernacles, suggests a knowledge of Santiago. The state of the southern portal at Compostela, after its first rebuilding, which fell during Master Matthew's time, is uncertain, it is true, but one may be allowed a conjectural affirmative in this case. The restoration, moreover, of the Santillana portal, indicated in a bull of 1265,[6] need not have had any direct bearing upon the sculptures. The façade inscription, so variously read, is worth next to nothing for our purposes.

The back-wash in Navarre took a different form.[7] The church of S. Sepulcro of Estella (Fig. 12) has a great apostolado set in its northern face high under the eaves. This is the only instance of a northern position, and the apostolado seems to have been put here in this case, because, on the southern side a hill rises abruptly from the very church wall. Now the archivolt of the portal

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[1] *Santander*, pp. 691 ff.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 676.

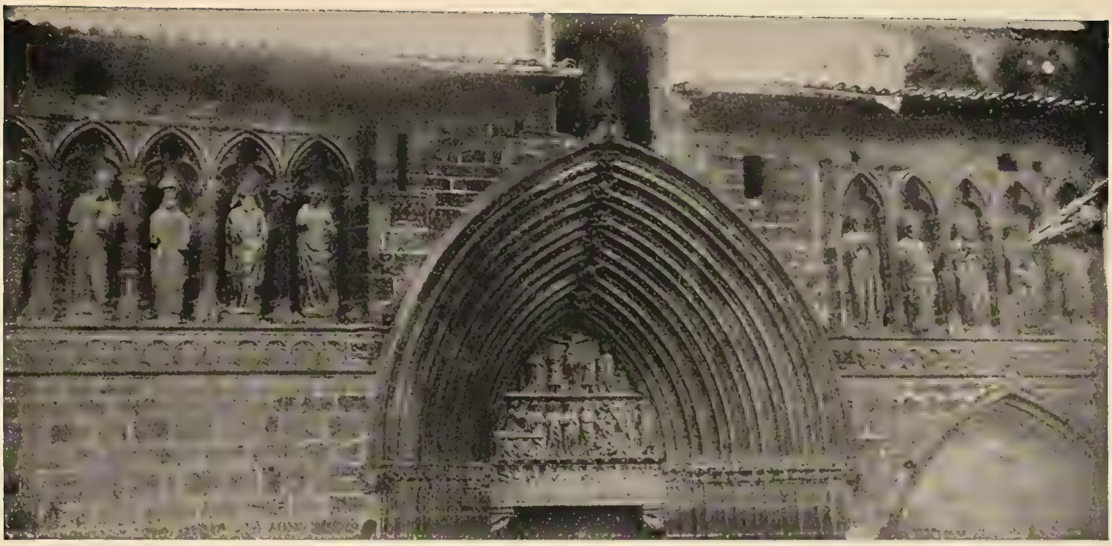
[3] *España Sagrada*, vol. XXVII, p. 30.

[4] Amador de los Rios, *op. cit.*, p. 708.

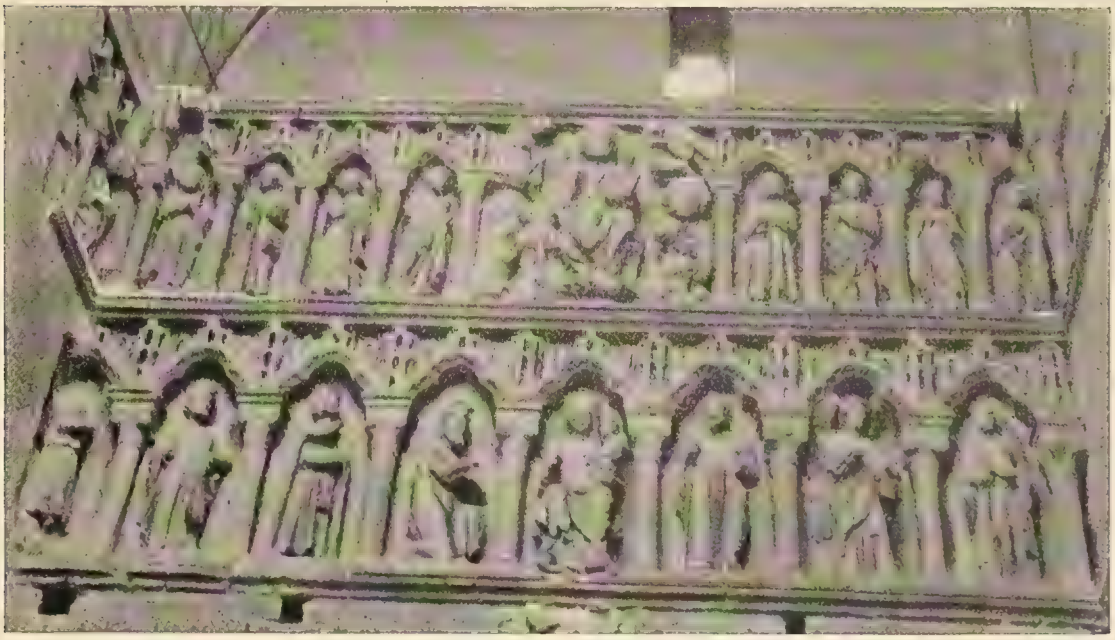
[5] *Op. cit.*, p. 227.

[6] D. Julian Ortiz de la Azuela, *Monografía de la Antigua Colegiata de Santillana del Mar*, pp. 60, 61.

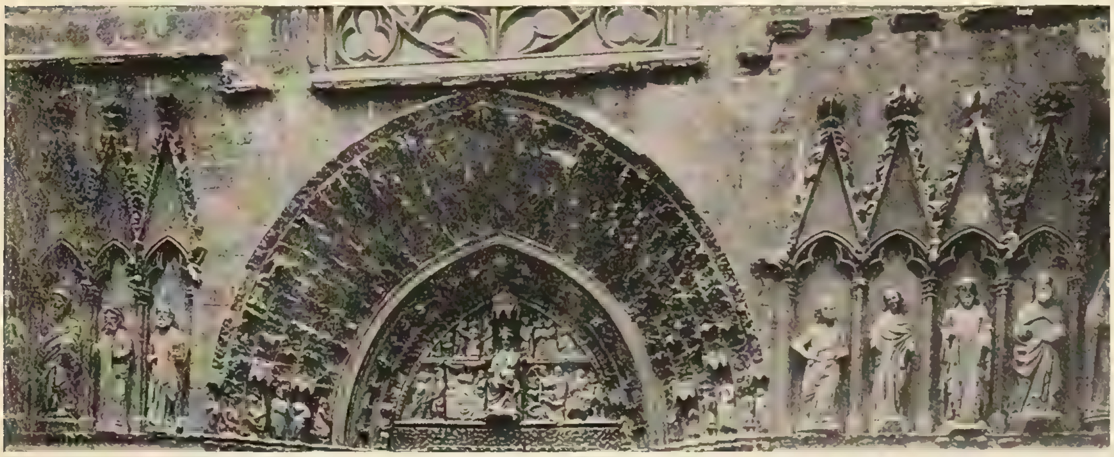
[7] For the entire question of the Navarrese type, cf. King, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 107 ff.



12. Estella. San Sepulcro. Apostolado



11. Villasirga. Templars' Church. Sculptures above Southern Portal. (Phot. G. G. King)



13. Olite. Santa Maria. Apostolado

(to return to the northern façade) comes so high that there is no room above it for a row of figures. The Apostles, consequently, are ranged on either side, and for the Christ, above the portal, the roof has been raised. The church has numerous bits of building and patching, and, as might be expected, the sculptures likewise vary in date. The arcading and the portal fall well along in the fourteenth century, but the Apostles are of the mid-thirteenth. The Christ belongs with them. When the plans for building were altered, the apostolado, intended at first, it may be supposed, for the regular arrangement, was disposed of in the best possible way under the circumstances. The clumsiness of the composition in which the figures have no architectonic relation to the portal resulted from combining elements originally unrelated in plan.

The scheme of the Estella apostolado was taken over and recomposed at Olite. The western portal of the church of Sta. Maria (Fig. 13) is flanked by the twelve Apostles set in blank arcading which is trilobed and pinnacled. Such is the composition, that the bottom of the arcading is on the same level as the shaft capitals of the portal, and the tops of the pinnacles are on a line with the point of the archivolt. At Olite, there is no Christ. The work must be of the third quarter of the fourteenth century, soon after the rebuilding at Estella.

Like Olite in composition, and too near in date for one to determine the direction of influence, is the façade of S. Saturnino of Artajona. Statues, however, were never placed in the arcading, which extends for six unfilled spaces on either side of the portal. On the summit of the archivolt stands a small cross, as if it were replacing the Christ of Estella.

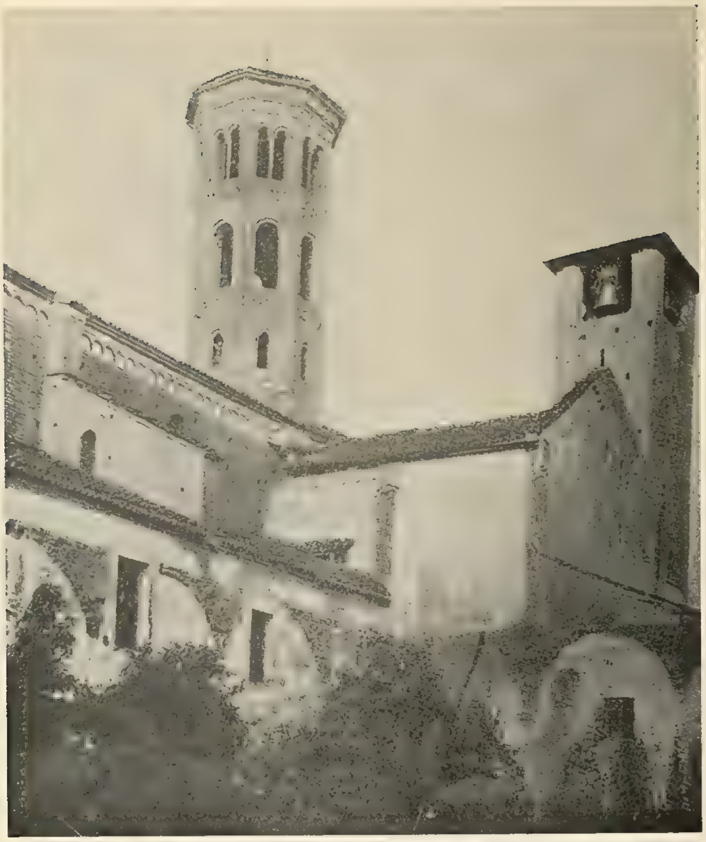
From a change in plan, brought about by structural circumstance, the apostolado in Navarre deviated from type, and became, at Artajona, a thing so different, that, were it not for comparisons, its identity would be lost.

To trace the influence further would probably be to state cause where there was none. If the type continued acting as a positive factor, it was merged with other factors, equally positive, and lost in them.[1]

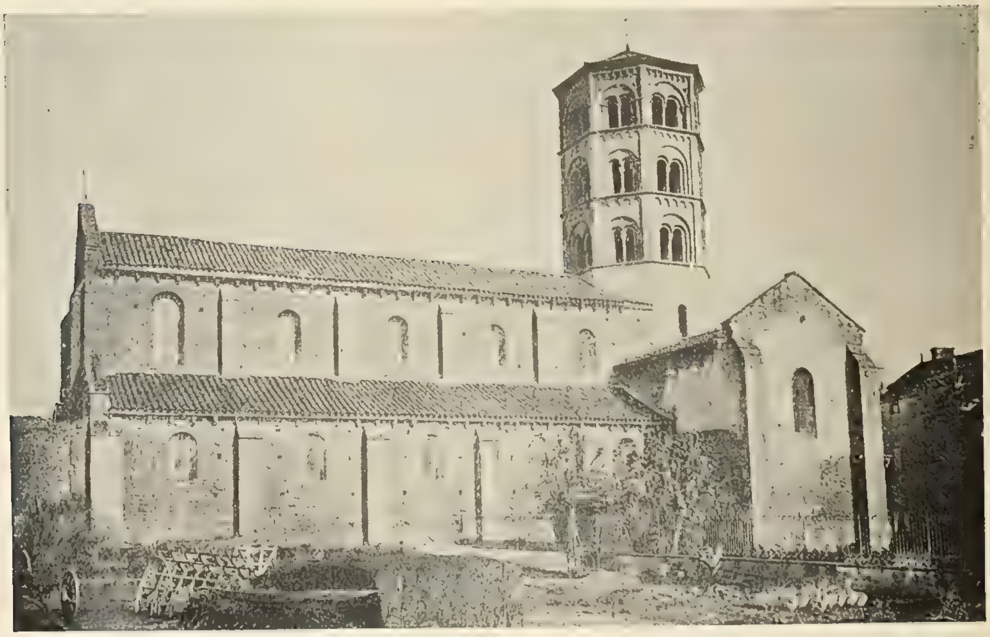
The development of the apostolado was coherent and direct. In Santiago lay the origin, in Palencia occurred the crystallization, and to the north, and to Navarre, went the influence. But the spark came from the master of Carrión. His was the energy; his, also, are the figures, which, standing high against the church façade, make shadows of the very children in the street below.

[1] The tradition to which belong the south transept portal of Burgos Cathedral, and the portals of Tarragona, Villa de Sasamón, and Candes, was too early established to have been affected by the apostolado as found at Olite. The portal of S. Bartolomé of Logroño, however, may belong with the Navarre group. Cf. King, *op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 377. From the original apostolado type, may have been derived the position of such sculptures as those above the portals of the cathedral of Ciudad Rodrigo, and, in France, Fénioux (Charente-Inférieure). In any event, many influences were at work in these places.

LA GENÈSE MONUMENTALE DE L'ÉGLISE ABBATIALE DE VÉZELAY



2. Cerreto di Lodigiano. Tour.
(A. Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, Pl. 52)



1. Anzy-le-Duc. Elévation Latérale et Tour. (Phot. Arch. Phot. d'Art et d'Histoire)

LA GENÈSE MONUMENTALE DE L'ÉGLISE ABBATIALE DE VÉZELAY

Par CHARLES OURSEL

Si, à l'époque romane, la Bourgogne a été le foyer d'un intense mouvement artistique, si cette province s'est alors couverte de quantité d'églises dont beaucoup subsistent encore, et quelques unes parmi les plus belles que la France ait conservées, il s'en faut que l'histoire de ces édifices soit parfaitement connue, que leur chronologie soit établie avec toute certitude critique et même que leur classification par genres soit très rigoureuse et poussée bien avant. Or cette classification permettrait, si elle était bien définie, de déterminer les influences esthétiques qui se sont exercées dans ce pays, et d'en éclairer même par une illustration bien vivante l'histoire politique et religieuse. La fameuse église abbatiale de Vézelay va, nous semble-t-il, nous en fournir la preuve péremptoire.

Etudiant la genèse de l'architecture gothique, R. de Lasteyrie écrit:[1] "La grande majorité des églises construites en Bourgogne dans la deuxième moitié du douzième siècle sont d'un type simple, et qui est né dans la province même, car il reproduit presque sans changement un des modèles romans que les architectes bourguignons ont le plus employés pendant la première moitié du douzième siècle. Ce type comportait de grandes arcades brisées portées sur des piles flanquées de quatre colonnes, des voûtes d'arêtes sur la nef, comme sur les bas-côtés, pas de triforium, une rangée de fenêtres percées dans les lunettes des voûtes de la nef. C'est sur ce modèle que sont bâties, sauf quelques variantes, la nef de la Madeleine de Vézelay, celles de Saint-Lazare et de Saint-Martin du Bourg à Avallon, de Saint-Etienne à Vézelay et de Pontaubert. Les architectes de la seconde moitié du douzième siècle n'eurent, pour ainsi dire, qu'à jeter des croisées d'ogives sous les arêtes de ces voûtes pour avoir des églises gothiques, c'est ce qu'ils firent au chœur de Saint-Martin-du-Bourg, à la nef de Montréal (Yonne), à Nuits-sous-Beaune. Or cette transformation s'opéra précisément au moment où l'ordre de Cîteaux commençait à prendre son essor. Les disciples de saint Bernard, en cherchant à réagir contre le luxe extrême apporté à la construction des églises, n'en tenaient pas moins à avoir des édifices bien bâtis. La simplicité des églises bourguignonnes répondait merveilleusement à leurs besoins et à leurs aspirations. Ils adoptèrent ce type et le portèrent avec eux dans les trois quarts de l'Europe."

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[1] R. de Lasteyrie, *L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque gothique*, t. I, p. 65.

Si ce type architectural offre une particularité dans l'ensemble des écoles romanes de France, singularité non moins curieuse, il se rencontre uniquement, croyons-nous, dans l'ancien diocèse d'Autun.[1] Et même, coïncidence étrange, il est plus spécial aux églises qui dépendaient de l'antique abbaye de Saint-Martin d'Autun, à savoir les prieurés d'Anzy-le-Duc, de Bragny-en-Charolais, de Saint-Martin d'Avallon, ou qui ont eu avec Saint-Martin des relations historiques certaines. Nous sommes donc amenés à rechercher si les moines de Saint-Martin ne seraient pas responsables de l'introduction en Bourgogne de cette technique de construction, et d'où ils l'auraient tirée.

Il faut d'abord se rappeler qu'Autun a été depuis l'époque gallo-romaine et dans le haut moyen âge une vraie capitale. Ses monuments l'attestent, et M. l'abbé Terret vient encore de remettre très opportunément en pleine lumière la continuité de la civilisation éduenne dans ses manifestations d'art.[2] Et la grande lutte de l'évêque saint Léger et d'Ebroïn n'est, au témoignage érudit et perspicace de M. l'abbé Chaume, qu'un conflit politique engageant, en quelque sorte, l'autonomie de la Burgondie entière; c'est l'évêque d'Autun qui se trouve être le puissant champion de l'indépendance burgonde.[3]

Plus étroitement, l'abbaye de Saint-Martin d'Autun n'est pas moins originale dans son histoire. Il n'y a pas à la refaire ici après Bulliot,[4] mais seulement à en remémorer quelques traits dont la connaissance nous importe. Elle est fondée par Brunehaut en 600, et richement dotée; saint Léger y introduit exclusivement la règle de saint Benoît; l'invasion sarrasine de 731 la détruit à peu près de fond en comble. Un familier de Charles-le-Chauve, le comte Badilon, puissamment aidé par le monarque, relève le monastère et la nouvelle église est consacrée le 7 décembre 870. Les moines sont appelés de Saint-Bénigne de Dijon et de Saint-Savin-sur-Gartempe, pur foyer de vie bénédictine; ainsi se manifestait une ancienne tradition qui unissait le Poitou à Autun. Parmi ces moines de Saint-Savin se trouvaient deux personnages qu'unit une étroite intimité: Bernon, le futur fondateur et premier abbé de Cluny, et saint Hugues de Poitiers ou d'Autun, que nous allons retrouver à Anzy-le-Duc. De nouveaux incidents politiques amènent une nouvelle dévastation de Saint-Martin; Charles-le-Gros confie sa restauration à l'abbé

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[1] "Il n'y a pas, de diocèse à diocèse, de différences qui méritent d'être signalées: la seule remarque que j'ai pu faire, c'est que dans l'ancien diocèse d'Autun, beaucoup de nefs d'églises sont voûtées d'arêtes, tandis que l'ancien diocèse de Mâcon se distingue par l'emploi exclusif de la voûte en berceau." J. Virey, *Les édifices religieux de l'époque romane en Saône-et-Loire*, in *Congrès archéologique de France*, Mâcon (1899), p. 243. Les églises de Gourdon (S. et L.), de Saint-Philibert de Dijon, ont bien une nef couverte de voûtes d'arêtes, mais elles comportent aussi un triforium ou faux triforium et appartiennent aux diocèses de Chalon et de Langres. Ce n'est donc pas la même élévation que décrit M. de Lasteyrie.

[2] V. Terret, *La sculpture bourguignonne aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles, Autun*, t. I, chap. I et II.

[3] Abbé M. Chaume, *Le sentiment national bourguignon de Gondebaud à Charles le Téméraire*, pp. 15 sq. (Extr. des *Mémoires de l'Académie de Dijon*, 1922.)

[4] Bulliot, *Essai historique sur l'abbaye de Saint-Martin d'Autun.*

Grégoire, et restitue à l'abbaye une partie des biens dont elle avait été dépouillée (885). La prospérité renaît, suivie d'une nouvelle décadence, avec des alternatives de misère et d'éclat au dixième, au onzième et au douzième siècle. Mais toujours, dans cette vie agitée, le vieux monastère garde son indépendance sans se laisser absorber par la puissante influence de Cluny, la grande abbaye prochaine. Cette indépendance, nous croyons bien que l'architecture même l'a exprimée et qu'elle en a conservé la trace.

C'est ce que constate, au point de vue plus particulier du décor ornemental (mais il faut étendre cette remarque à l'ensemble des monuments) M. le Vicomte P. de Truchis:[1] "La technique barbare, dont le rayonnement s'était arrêté depuis les invasions," écrit-il, "mais dont le développement intense avait spontanément grandi dans l'ornementation romane, ne répudie pas l'art des fibules, ni celui des bronzes d'importation du Nord ou de l'Ouest; elle prend alors un si grand essor qu'elle devient un facteur important dans l'art de la fin du onzième siècle et du début du douzième. Il n'est pas sans intérêt de la retrouver plus systématique qu'ailleurs dans tous les édifices bâtis par Saint-Martin d'Autun, comme s'il était de tradition, dans cette très vieille abbaye, de perpétuer dans le décor de ses monuments le style rappelant le mieux sa très vieille illustration."

De Saint-Martin d'Autun même, reconstruit en 1741 par Michel-Ange Caristie, et détruit à la Révolution, il serait malaisé de tirer grande conclusion d'après les descriptions que nous en possédons. Mais l'église du prieuré d'Anzy-le-Duc, au contraire bien conservée, nous fournira plus d'un sujet d'étude. Ce prieuré fut fondé pour Saint-Martin d'Autun vers 878 par le noble Liebaut et sa femme Altasie. La sainteté d'Hugues de Poitiers ou d'Autun, en qui plusieurs auteurs voient son premier prieur, et qui fut à coup sûr l'un des premiers, lui valut grande renommée. Hugues y fut très problablement inhumé, et sa tombe fut bientôt un lieu de pélerinage fertile en miracles; en 1025 ses reliques furent solennellement portées au concile d'Anse pour être offertes à la vénération des fidèles. Sans doute la popularité du saint exigea bientôt un agrandissement de l'église. La chronologie de l'édifice demeure d'ailleurs assez obscure. Vers 1850, on découvrit sous les marches du sanctuaire une inscription aujourd'hui encastrée dans le maître-autel; elle relate la consécration à la Trinité, à la Sainte Croix et à la Vierge Marie; elle n'est pas datée, mais son épigraphie la rapporte à la fin du onzième siècle. C'est en effet l'époque qu'on peut assigner au chevet de l'église; le décor intérieur de l'abside avec bandes et arcatures de genre lombard confirme en outre cette hypothèse.

Le plan comporte une nef accostée de collatéraux, un transept fortement saillant, sur les bras duquel s'ouvrent à chaque extrémité, et en contrebas, des absidioles en cul-de-four, peut-être ajoutées peu de temps après la construction, puisqu'elles obturent en partie un percement ouvert dans les absidioles voisines. Au-delà du transept, une travée de chœur, barlongue comme toutes les travées de la nef, avec des collatéraux qui se terminent par une absidiole en hémicycle. La grande abside, également en demi-cercle, présente une singulière particularité: elle se prolonge à l'est par une autre absidiole formée d'une partie droite et d'un cintre, et qui s'ouvre directement sur l'abside même. C'est le seul chevet de ce genre qui existe en Bourgogne. Mais ce n'est pas le seul en France. Dans la zone des églises à coupoles, en Aquitaine, en Poitou, il se trouve des exemples assez nombreux d'absidioles ouvrant directement sur le sanctuaire.[1] Et nous songeons alors immédiatement aux étroites relations qui ont uni Saint-Martin d'Autun à l'ouest de la France, son prieuré d'Anzy-le-Duc et son prieur Hugues (dit de Poitiers) au Poitou et aux pays voisins.

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[1] P. de Truchis, *Eléments barbares, éléments étrangers dans l'architecture romane de l'Autunois*, pp. 26, 27 (Extr. des *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne*, t. XXXV, 1907).

Extérieurement, nous nous contenterons d'observer quelques particularités notables.[2] Lorsqu'on fait le tour de l'édifice, on remarque immédiatement la différence de construction de la nef avec ses collatéraux d'une part, du chevet et des croisillons du transept d'autre part. Transept, abside et absidioles sont en petits moëllons assez peu réguliers; les murs sont très épais, il n'y a pas de contreforts, mais la base des murs est renforcée par une sorte de bourrelet saillant continu, qui accompagne tout le pourtour du chevet, et qui accroit encore l'impression de masse, cette méthode archaïque à laquelle a été demandé l'équilibre. Sous le chœur et ses deux absidioles contigues s'étend une crypte de même plan et de mêmes dimensions, voûtée d'arêtes, avec remploi dans les supports de fragments de futs antiques de colonnes. Les fenêtres sont fortement ébrasées, sans aucun ornement, assez largement percées et clavées de petits moëllons allongés. Tout l'ensemble accuse bien la seconde moitié du onzième siècle.

Relevant dans tout cette région des traces assez prononcées de calcination, M. Jeannez a conjecturé qu'un incendie violent aurait consumé la nef et le clocher, en nécessitant une reconstruction de ces deux parties de l'église. L'hypothèse est ingénieuse. En tous cas, les corniches du chevet et des croisillons dénoncent une reprise; elles sont très voisines des corniches de la nef, soutenues par des modillons curieusement sculptés de divers motifs, animaux et personnages contournés, palmettes, tous d'un même style assez vieillot et

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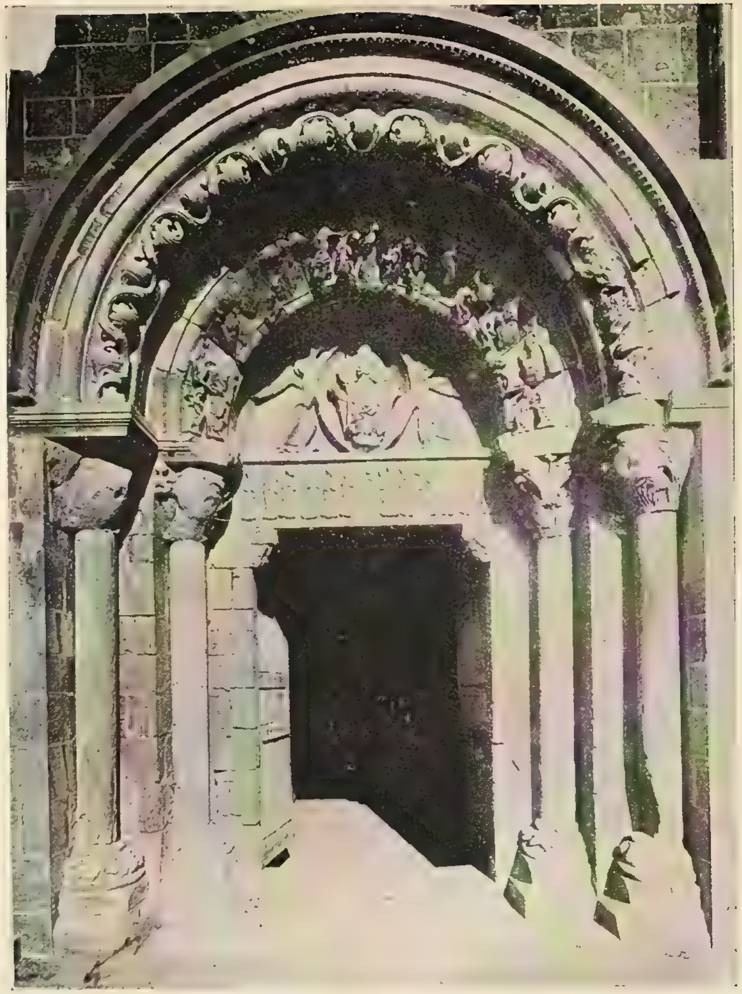
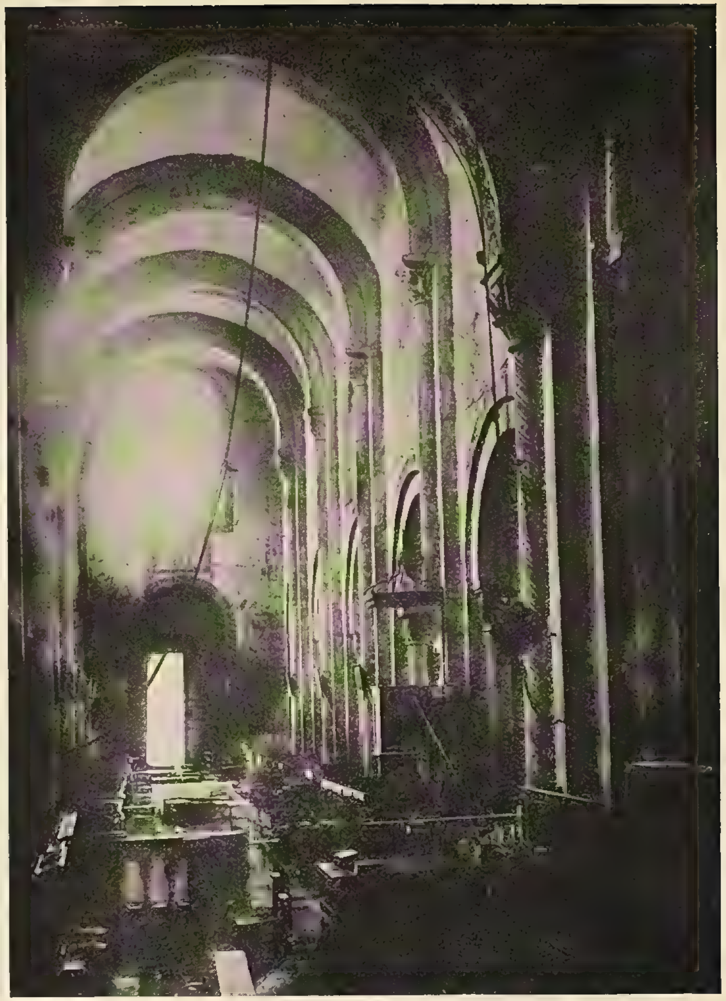
[1] Cathédrale d'Angoulême; Montbron, Puypéroux en Charente; Arnac-Pompadour en Corrèze; Roffiac dans le Cantal. Cf. Lasteyrie, *L'architecture religieuse en France à l'époque romane*, pp. 300 et 458.

[2] Sur Anzy-le-Duc, outre le livre de Bulliot, *Essai historique sur l'abbaye de Saint-Martin d'Autun*, il faut consulter l'étude de M. André Rhein sur *Le prieuré d'Anzy-le-Duc* dans le *Congrès archéologique de Moulins-Nevers*, 1913, la notice de Jeannez, dans Thiollier, *L'art roman à Charlieu et en Brionnais*, et la petite monographie de Jean Virey, *Paray-le-Monial et les églises du Brionnais*.



3. Anzy-le-Duc. Portail Occidental.
(Phot. Arch. Phot. d'Art et d'Histoire)



4. Anzy-le-Duc. Nef.
(Phot. Arch. Phot. d'Art et d'Histoire)

archaïque. Seul le croisillon nord a gardé des traces de sa corniche primitive, sans modillons. Observons encore que plusieurs de ces modillons sont à copeaux, type généralement (mais non exclusivement) répandu en Auvergne,[1] et dont on trouverait plusieurs exemples en Brionnais, par exemple à Monceaux-l'Etoile.

Si la nef s'apparente extérieurement au chevet par sa corniche, elle s'en distingue par son appareil avec abondant emploi de forte taille, spécialement accusé à la façade. Elle est beaucoup plus élevée que le transept. Collatéraux et nef sont soutenus par des contreforts prononcés, entre lesquels s'ouvrent, au rez-de-chaussée comme au-dessus des collatéraux, de larges fenêtres très ébrasées.

A la façade occidentale, une porte richement moulurée et sculptée donne accès à l'intérieur. Linteau et tympan figurent l'Ascension, de thème byzantin selon M. Mâle.[2] Tout autour, sur la voussure qui enferme le tympan, sont sculptés les vieillards de l'Apocalypse. Mais, par une singularité qui vaut d'être signalée, chacun de ces petits personnages est taillé à part et isolément, chacun dans son claveau. Or cette disposition, nous la retrouvons encore dans le domaine de l'école poitevine, spécialement caractérisée entre autres exemples à Notre-Dame de Saintes ou à l'église d'Aulnay (Charente-Inférieure).[3] Nous revenons donc encore par ce détour aux origines semi-poitevines du prieuré d'Anzy-le-Duc et de Saint-Martin d'Autun.

Au contraire, nous évoquerons la Lombardie à propos de la grande tour qui complète si heureusement la silhouette extérieure du monument. L'ouvrage monumental d'A. Kingsley Porter sur l'architecture lombarde[4] nous montre, à l'abbaye bénédictine de Cerreto di Lodigiano dans le Milanais, fondée en 1084, puis passée sous la domination cistercienne en 1139, un clocher octogonal qui n'est pas, quoique moins orné, sans offrir quelque analogie avec la tour d'Anzy-le-Duc. La tour d'Anzy est justement réputée. Ce qui la distingue entre toutes, c'est son élancement, l'ajourement très prononcé et audacieux de ses trois étages: la masse est ainsi dissimulée ou atténuée par la lumière qui traverse le clocher, et qui lui donne une sveltesse que ne possèdent pas au même degré les tours octogonales du Mâconnais et du Brionnais, notamment la plus fameuse d'entre elles, le clocher de l'Eau bénite, à Cluny. Chaque étage est en léger retrait l'un sur l'autre; sur chaque face se superposent exactement, d'une même largeur, d'un même profil, les larges baies géminées. Chacune est encadrée d'une voussure saillante dont la retombée se fait sur une petite console superposée aux colonnettes jumelées qui reçoivent l'arc intérieur; et cette retombée sur la console médiane est, selon les archéologues, "un système manifestement importé de Lombardie." [1] L'œil le moins exercé reconnaîtra également les bandes et arcatures lombardes d'un emploi si courant dans le roman bourguignon. Quant aux variantes du troisième étage, elles ne nous semblent pas dénoncer, comme on le dit parfois, une surélévation un peu postérieure, mais une simple modification contemporaine dans le dispositif ornemental. La flèche terminale d'ailleurs ayant été foudroyée au milieu du dix-septième siècle, cet accident détermina quelques réparations à la partie supérieure. Mais, dans l'ensemble, la tour est homogène, et elle est une construction contemporaine de la nef, c'est-à-dire du premier quart du douzième siècle au plus tard.

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[1] Lasteyrie, *op. cit.*, p. 441; Enlart, *Manuel d'archéologie, architecture religieuse*, 2e éd., p. 426.

[2] E. Mâle, *L'art religieux du XIIe siècle en France*, pp. 90, 91, 405.

[3] Lasteyrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 659, 660.

[4] A. Kingsley Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, t. II, pp. 286 sq., et Atlas, Pl. 52.

Il est impossible en effet de rajeunir en deçà de cette époque la nef d'Anzy-le-Duc et ses collatéraux adjacents. L'église a reçu une copieuse ornementation sculptée qui convient bien par son style à l'époque indiquée. Ce sont des chapiteaux en relief très accusé, historiés ou à feuillages, un peu plus jeunes que les sculptures de la partie orientale de l'édifice, semble-t-il; les personnages en sont trapus çà et là et difformes, mais on y trouve aussi une grande souplesse parfois, de l'aisance et du mouvement, des feuillages vigoureux et profondément fouillés; le costume, écu allongé et pointu, casque à nasal, qu'on remarque en certaines scènes, est celui du douzième siècle encore peu avancé. Les bases, au gros tore orné de sculptures décoratives comme on en voit à Paray-le-Monial, témoignent aussi d'une tradition plutôt archaïque.[2]

Sans nous attarder du reste à une longue description de l'intérieur, nous ne ferons que signaler certaines particularités remarquables. En élévation, on le sait, il n'y a pas de triforium, mais simplement, au-dessus des grandes arcades doublées en plein cintre, un étage de fenêtres supérieures. Les piles sont cantonnées sur trois faces d'un dosseret avec colonne engagée, et, vers le collatéral, le dosseret seul sans colonne reçoit la retombée du doubleau symétriquement au pilastre du mur extérieur. Quant à la voûte de la nef, soutenue par des doubleaux à ressaut en plein cintre, elle est, nous l'avons dit, en compartiments d'arêtes et faite d'un blocage solide. C'est un fait important sur lequel nous reviendrons. Les collatéraux sont aussi voûtés d'arêtes, la croisée couverte d'une coupole sur trompes à la mode bourguignonne. Mais, à ce niveau, le type de couverture change: bras du transept très allongés et travée de chœur ont reçu un berceau plein cintre; rappelons seulement que cette partie de l'église est un peu plus ancienne que la nef. Abside et absidioles sont en cul-de-four.

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[1] Cf. A. Rhein, *op. cit.*, p. 286. M. Aubert, *Les clochers romans bourguignons, Bulletin monumental*, t. LXXX (1921), p. 67.

[2] M. le Vte. P. de Truchis, *Eléments barbares, éléments étrangers dans l'architecture romane de l'Autunois*, p. 4, n. 2, distingue trois âges dans la construction: première moitié du onzième siècle, chœur et crypte; fin du onzième siècle, transept; première moitié du douzième siècle, nef. La crypte peut être en effet plus ancienne que l'église supérieure, mais nous croyons que le chevet et le transept sont, ou peu s'en faut, du même temps. Il faut en outre, en ce qui concerne l'appareil de la nef, tenir compte de la très juste observation de M. Jean Virey qui "insiste sur le soin avec lequel, dans la vallée de la Loire, l'ensemble de la construction dès la fin du onzième siècle, est appareillé." (J. Virey, *op. cit.*, p. 108.)

L'originalité vraie de cette abside réside dans l'ample garniture de fresques qui la décorent. Retrouvées sous le badigeon de 1850 à 1856, restaurées par un élève de Léon Coignet, le peintre forézien Maurice, on ne peut assurer qu'elles sont bien exactement telles que les a vu naître le douzième siècle. Mais elles n'en constituent pas moins l'un des rares ensembles de peinture romane encore en place dans la Bourgogne. Il en existe un autre à Curgy, près d'Autun; et à propos des peintures de Curgy M. le Vte P. de Truchis observe [1] ''qu'elles ont cette note claire aux tons calmes que l'on retrouve dans le cycle auquel se rattachent celles de Saint-Savin." Or nous connaissons les relations d'Autun avec Saint-Savin. Il serait curieux d'examiner si les peintures d'Anzy-le-Duc, autant qu'on en peut juger aujourd'hui, trahissent la même influence. Elles se distinguent du moins des grandes fresques clunisiennes de Berzé-la-Ville, dont le caractère byzantin est bien accusé. A Anzy, l'allure générale est différente. Et, au lieu de fonds unis comme à Berzé et chez les peintres issus des Grecs, les sujets s'enlèvent, comme à Saint-Savin et dans beaucoup de miniatures, sur de larges bandes parallèles de couleurs alternées qui donnent à la scène un relief prononcé. Méditons à ce sujet les lignes suivantes de M. Mâle qui a jusqu'alors le mieux débrouillé ce qu'on sait, — et fort peu, — de notre peinture monumentale du douzième siècle: "Il y a eu en France au onzième et au douzième siècle, écrit-il, de grandes écoles de peinture décorative, vivantes, savantes, connaissant parfaitement les lois de leur art. L'une, celle du Vendômois, du Poitou, de la Touraine, du Berry, détache ses personnages sur des fonds clairs où l'ocre, le blanc, le gris s'étagent en bandes horizontales. Le bleu lui est presque inconnu. L'autre, dont nous avons trouvé des traces dans l'Est et dans le Sud de la France, en Bourgogne, en Dauphiné, dans le Velay, fait valoir ses figures par un fond d'azur sombre. La première adopte les procédés des miniaturistes carolingiens, qui aimaient à décorer leurs fonds de bandes horizontales; c'est, malgré beaucoup d'emprunts, notre école indigène. La seconde est d'origine grecque: les fonds bleus des fresques du Puy se retrouvent au Mont-Athos et à Mistra." [2]

Il est curieux, n'est-il pas vrai? de retrouver ici, dans ce compartiment de la peinture murale, la notion de traditions indigènes ou autochtones que signale d'autre part M. de Truchis dans la structure des églises de l'Autunois. On n'oserait affirmer qu'il en est de même pour les voûtes d'arêtes qui couvrent la nef d'Anzy-le-Duc; mais il est incontestable qu'elles ont, à cette place, une véritable originalité. Permettant, par définition, d'ouvrir le mur goutterot sans surélever la voûte, de reporter les poussées aux quatre retombées d'angles, elles facilitent l'éclairage et l'équilibre, deux conditions qui vont leur ménager, rappelons-le, par leur transformation et leur adaptation ogivale, tout l'avenir de l'architecture religieuse. D'où venaient-elles donc? L'architecte d'Anzy en a pu trouver d'anciens modèles dans les cryptes, dérivés de la construction romaine: la crypte même d'Anzy est ainsi voûtée; à Autun, la crypte carolingienne de l'abbaye de Saint-Andoche. Dans les bâtiments de surface, en Bourgogne même, non seulement les collatéraux de plusieurs églises, mais le narthex de Saint-Philibert de Tournus, au rez-de-chaussée, donne l'exemple d'une voûte d'arêtes de grande portée dans la nef centrale, dès l'extrême fin du dixième siècle ou tout au commencement du onzième.

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[1] P. de Truchis, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

[2] E. Mâle, *La peinture murale en France à l'époque romane* (*Histoire de l'Art*, d'André Michel, t. I, 2e partie, pp. 780, 781).

Il se pourrait en effet que l'usage de la voûte d'arêtes dans les hautes nefs fût, à travers la tradition romaine, une réminiscence ou un legs de l'art lombard. La pratique lombarde est hors de doute à Tournus. Certes, les nefs à voûtes d'arêtes se voient ailleurs qu'en Bourgogne, et M. de Lasteyrie [1] pense que plusieurs ont été détruites. Mais deux écoles seulement en ont systématisé l'emploi dans leurs nefs, l'école bourguignonne et l'école germanique. Les rapports de l'école germanique avec l'art lombard sont nombreux et bien connus, mais l'école germanique n'a voûté que très tardivement au douzième siècle ses grandes nefs, bien après la Bourgogne; nos pères n'ont donc pas emprunté cette technique à l'école germanique. Mais comme ils ont été assurément influencés, avant l'abbatiale de Cluny, par l'art lombard, et comme beaucoup d'églises anciennes de Lombardie sont voûtées d'arêtes, il n'est pas interdit de chercher en Lombardie l'ancêtre commun des écoles bourguignonne et germanique. Les Romains, les Gallo-romains, les Carolingiens ont pratiqué la voûte d'arêtes, les premiers avec grande audace, et il n'est pas surprenant que la tradition s'en soit conservée en Italie. Les Bourguignons, qui la connaissaient, ont bien pu apprendre des constructeurs lombards à l'adapter à de larges surfaces. Notons encore que parmi les plus anciens exemples qu'on trouve en Bourgogne de nefs voûtées d'arêtes, Tournus et Anzy-le-Duc sont précisément des monastères qui ont gardé à l'égard de Cluny une entière et constante indépendance. De là à conclure que les architectes d'Anzy, ou mieux de Saint-Martin d'Autun, ont voulu être originaux et indépendants même en leur architecture, il n'y a qu'un pas, et d'autres voies, nous l'avons vu, nous mènent à une semblable distinction.

L'hypothèse est d'autant plus séduisante que l'église priorale d'Anzy-le-Duc n'est pas seule du même type. Selon Bulliot,[2] la première des constructions de l'abbaye de Saint-Martin d'Autun après l'an mille, et à une époque

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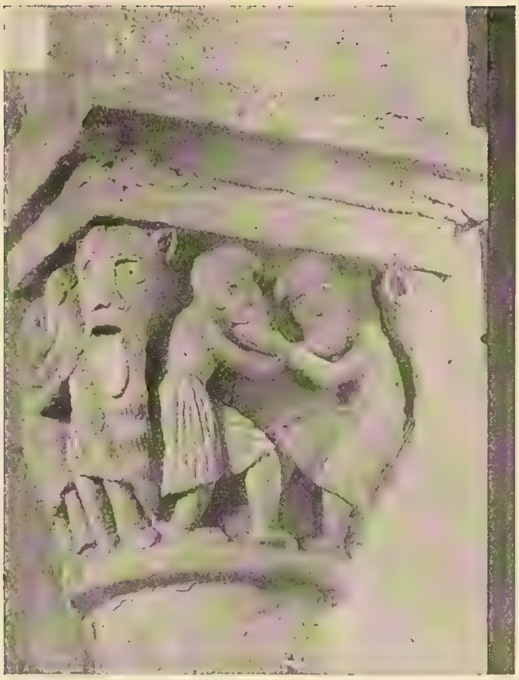
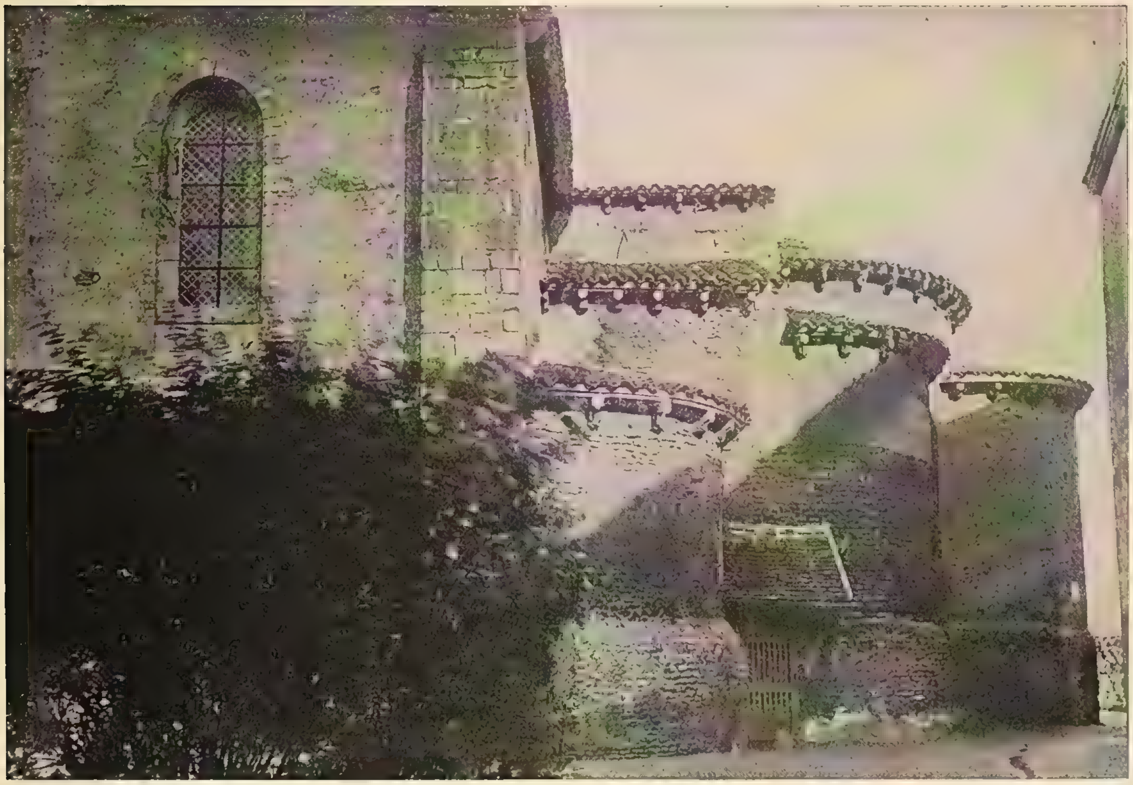
[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 254.

[2] *Essai . . . sur . . . Saint-Martin d'Autun*, t. I, pp. 178 sq.



6. Anzy-le-Duc. Un Chapiteau.
(Phot. Arch. Phot. d'Art et d'Histoire)



5. Anzy-le-Duc. Chevet

manifeste de prospérité, aurait été l'église de son prieuré de Bragny-en-Charolais, à peu de distance de Paray-le-Monial. L'église est encore debout, mais le zèle empressé et assez récent d'un pasteur plus dévoué qu'archéologue en a un peu rajeuni l'aspect et contrarié l'étude. Cette église, que M. Virey [1] date comme Anzy de la "deuxième moitié du onzième siècle," mais qui pourrait bien être un peu plus jeune, offre la particularité d'un clocher de façade, monté sur la première travée de la nef. Mais, ce qui nous retiendra davantage, ce sont les étroites analogies qu'on aperçoit avec Anzy-le-Duc, sauf le plan qui est ici, comme à Saint-Martin d'Autun, à chevet plat.

Hormis cette différence, tout est semblable dans la structure d'Anzy et de Bragny, toutes deux dépendant de Saint-Martin d'Autun: une nef centrale est accostée de collatéraux; nef et collatéraux sont voûtés d'arêtes avec doubleaux en plein cintre entre chaque travée; le plan des piles est identique comme celui des supports: des colonnes sur dosseret à trois des faces, le simple dosseret vers les collatéraux, un pilastre ou dosseret aux murs extérieurs des collatéraux, une colonne engagée sur dosseret contre le mur occidental; de même des murs épais et des fenêtres à grand ébrasement. En élévation, c'est la similitude la plus parfaite: à Bragny comme à Anzy des grandes arcades en plein cintre, pas de triforium, un étage de fenêtres percées dans le mur goutterot, sous la lunette de la voûte d'arêtes, pour éclairer directement la nef.

Cette élévation caractéristique, avec le même voûtement d'arêtes de la nef, nous les retrouvons à Saint-Martin d'Avallon, autre prieuré donné à Saint-Martin d'Autun par sa fondatrice Brunehaut. La chronologie de l'église appellerait révision. Sans doute l'édifice est-il plus jeune que Bragny et qu'Anzy; les grandes arcades y sont en cintre légèrement brisé, mais cette variante n'introduit pas de distinction fondamentale dans le groupe de ces églises si étroitement apparentées et unies à une souche commune. Et la collégiale Notre-Dame, devenue Saint-Lazare d'Avallon, tout près de là, semble bien avoir emprunté au prieuré voisin de Saint-Martin ses formes essentielles, sa nef voûtée d'arêtes, ses arcades à cintre brisé et son élévation sans triforium; c'est, du moins, un édifice de même famille. Or Saint-Lazare est disputée à la fin du onzième siècle entre les abbés de Cluny qui la reçoivent en 1077 du duc Hugues I,[2] non sans résistance des chanoines, et les évêques d'Autun à qui elle est rendue ultérieurement et confirmée en 1116.

Nous touchons là peut-être l'explication de l'emploi de ces formes et de cette technique architecturale dans certaines églises du diocèse d'Autun. On a nié véhémentement l'existence d'une école clunisienne hors de Bourgogne et, pour la Bourgogne, on la confond en général avec l'école romane propre à ce pays, en bloc. Peut-être s'est-on trop pressé de réfuter la thèse clunisienne de Viollet-le-Duc ou, plutôt, peut-être l'a-t-on rejetée sans faire les distinctions nécessaires. Jamais Cluny, au temps de ses grands abbés, n'a connu la forte discipline hiérarchisée que devait établir Cîteaux; jamais la paix n'a régné sans trouble dans l'ordre clunisien au temps de sa splendeur, parce que Cluny s'est annexé de grands monastères qui ont maintes fois, et vigoureusement, défendu leur indépendance et leur autonomie.

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[1] *L'architecture romane dans l'ancien diocèse de Mâcon*, p. 32, n. 5.

[2] Cf. Ern. Petit, *Histoire des ducs de Bourgogne*, t. I, pp. 199 et 391.

En Bourgogne même, dans le diocèse d'Autun, que M. de Truchis nous montre attaché à ses traditions constructives, diocèse vaste comme plus d'une province, et qui, du nord au sud, s'étendait d'Avallon et Flavigny jusqu'à Moulins, un évêque, Norgaud, qui régit l'église d'Autun de 1098 à 1112, se signala particulièrement par son opposition violente à Cluny et à ses empiètements.[1] A Saint-Martin d'Autun, Norgaud prit à partie un abbé Hugues, un Clunisien, contre qui se révoltait une partie de la communauté, et, à sa mort en 1099, il le remplaça par l'un de ses fidèles, Bernard; désormais, dit Bulliot, l'évêque devint tout puissant à Saint-Martin. Norgaud passe communément pour avoir été fort batailleur, pour avoir cherché noise à tout le monde; mais le chroniqueur qui nous le dépeint sous de noires couleurs, Hugues de Flavigny, avait eu maille à partir avec l'évêque et, par lui, avait été dépossédé de son abbaye de Flavigny; son témoignage n'est probablement pas exempt de partialité. Et il est clair aussi que les Clunisiens n'ont jamais été enclins à soutenir la bonne renommée de leur opiniâtre adversaire. Il faut cependant se rappeler que Norgaud a été soutenu par beaucoup de ses collègues de l'épiscopat dans sa lutte contre les envahissements de Cluny, et notamment par son voisin l'évêque de Mâcon, Bérard, continuant lui-même la politique d'un saint prélat, Landry de Berzé. Il est bien certain aussi qu'une partie de son clergé lui savait gré de son indépendance, et les moines de Saint-Martin, qu'il avait défendus contre Cluny, l'ont inscrit au nombre de leurs bienfaiteurs sur leur nécrologe, après sa mort, c'est-à-dire quand il ne pouvait plus leur être en personne d'aucun secours.

A la lumière de ces notions d'histoire, il ne nous est pas interdit de croire que le diocèse d'Autun était divisé dans la conduite à tenir envers Cluny. La majesté incomparable de Cluny ne doit pas obscurcir notre jugement. Toutes ces luttes obscures, mêlées de principes canoniques et de revendications féodales, ont imprimé à leurs acteurs une physionomie plus accusée, formé les caractères et pétri peu à peu notre nation. Nous sommes enclins à les oublier, à synthétiser l'histoire de ces temps reculés en un tableau idéal. La réalité est plus vivante et plus accidentée.

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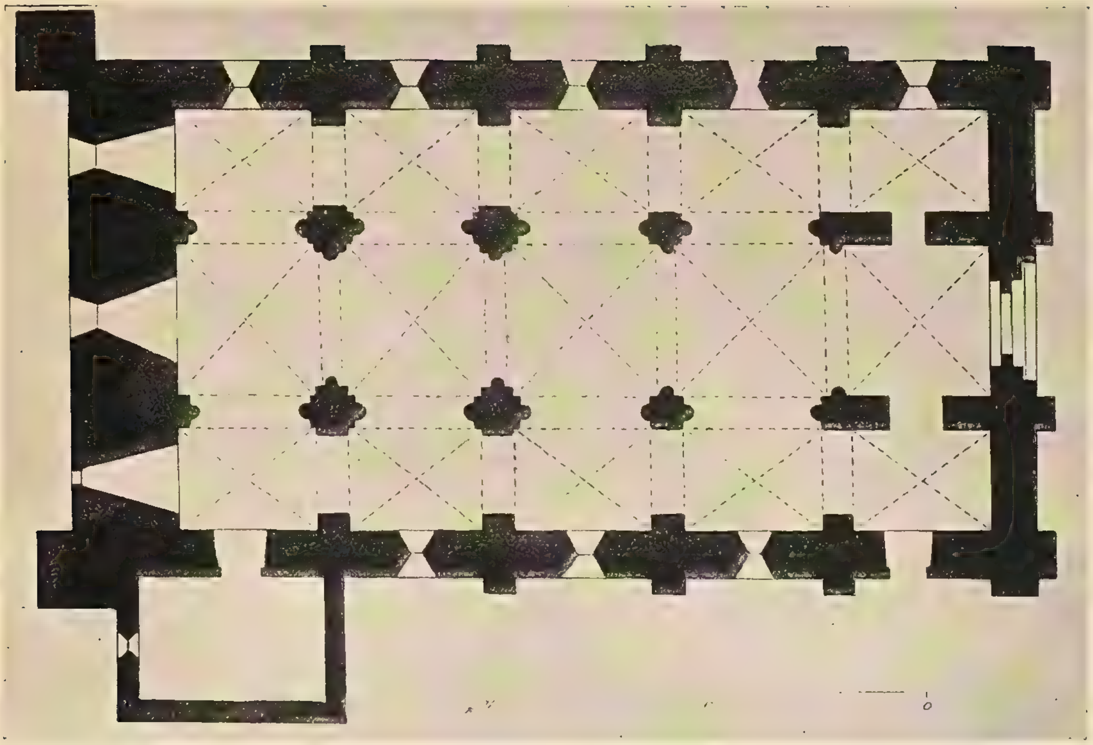
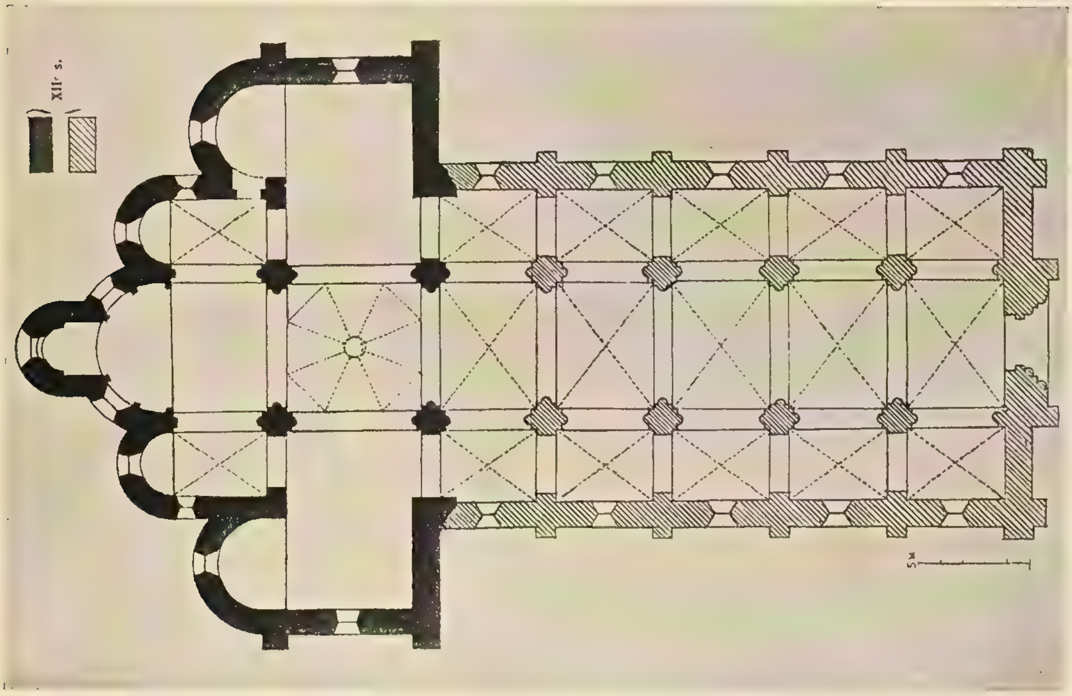
[1] On peut trouver un résumé commode de ces dissensions et de ces luttes dans Dom L'Huillier, *Vie de Saint Hugues*, dans Bulliot, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 204 sq., dans A. de Charnasse, *Origine des paroisses rurales dans le département de Saône-et-Loire*, in *Mémoires de la Société Eduenne* (1909), pp. 116 sq.



7. Bragny-en-Charollais. Plan (d'après Bulliot, *Essai . . . sur . . . St.-Martin d'Autun*)



8. Anzy-le-Duc. Plan (d'après le *Congrès archéologique de France, 1913, Moulins et Nevers*)

Pour nous, ce n'est pas le hasard qui a donné aux églises construites sous l'impulsion de Saint-Martin d'Autun, depuis la fin du onzième siècle, un caractère particulier. La voûte d'arêtes sur la nef, l'absence de triforium, même souvent les grandes arcades en plein cintre, c'est une marque d'indépendance architecturale. Les moines de Saint-Martin ont utilisé ou cherché, dans la peinture et le décor comme dans la construction une technique autre que la technique clunisienne. Ils ont été imités ou suivis par ceux qui, ailleurs,[1] voulaient ou pouvaient demeurer exempts de toute sujétion à l'égard de Cluny. Certes, plus tard, le successeur de Norgaud à l'évêché d'Autun, Etienne de Bagé, construira Saint-Andoche de Saulieu et la cathédrale d'Autun selon le type clunisien, mais Etienne était en effet, lui, un ami très cher de Cluny et de son abbé Pierre le Vénérable.

Ainsi l'architecture des églises reflète encore à nos yeux ces luttes lointaines et elle les traduit par un signe visible et tangible à travers les âges. Il s'y trouve des coïncidences que nous n'estimons pas fortuites. Et ces coïncidences nous mènent tout droit à la fameuse abbatiale de Vézelay.

De l'histoire et de la description archéologique de l'abbaye et de l'église de Vézelay, nous ne retiendrons que ce qui importe à notre sujet présent, et avec le secours des historiens et des archéologues qui sont venus avant nous.[2]

Vers 860 Girart de Roussillon fonde sur la Cure, au pied de la montagne, un monastère de filles dédié aux saints Pierre et Paul. Les Normands le détruisent. Quand il est relevé, c'est sur la colline même de Vézelay qu'il s'installe, et des moines remplacent les filles. L'histoire de l'abbaye demeure obscure. Au milieu des invasions et des luttes intestines, la discipline se relâche, comme ailleurs. Nous voyons alors intervenir pour la restaurer saint Hugues de Poitiers (ou d'Autun), celui-là même qui fut prieur d'Anzy-le-Duc, et dont les conseils devaient inciter le bienheureux Bernon et Guillaume d'Aquitaine à la fondation de Cluny. C'est bien à tort que Chérest a vu dans cette colonisation martinienne de saint Hugues à Vézelay une première intrusion des Clunisiens: elle serait un anachronisme. Mais Saint-Martin d'Autun, nous l'avons vu, rénové dans la ferveur religieuse par les moines de Saint-Savin, était devenu un vrai foyer de vie bénédictine, dont l'influence fut grande alors sur toute la région.

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[1] Hors du diocèse d'Autun, plusieurs églises ont, en totalité ou partiellement, des voûtes d'arêtes sur la nef: Gourdon-en-Charolais, Saint-Philibert de Dijon, Sacy, Irancy, Donzy-le-Pré dans les diocèses de Chalon, de Langres ou d'Auxerre; mais ce sont des cas sporadiques et, tous, ils offrent d'ailleurs ce caractère commun de n'appartenir pas à Cluny. Seule l'église de Toulon-sur-Arroux, à voûtes d'arêtes, et du diocèse d'Autun, fut abandonnée en 977 à Paray-le-Monial par Lambert, comte de Chalon (cf. A. de Charmasse, *op. cit.*, p. 110). Quant à l'église d'Issy-l'Evèque, au diocèse d'Autun, qui offre plus d'une analogie avec les églises martiniennes, c'était celle d'un monastère de Bénédictines indépendant de Cluny.

[2] Nous nous référons essentiellement à Chérest: *Vézelay, Etude historique;* et à Ch. Porée, *L'abbaye de Vézelay* [*Petites monographies des grands édifices de la France*], ou à la notice du même auteur sur Vézelay dans le *Congrès archéologique de France*, 1907 (*Avallon*).

C'est en 1027 que les Clunisiens paraissent à Vézelay: avec l'aide du comte Landry de Nevers, ils chassent l'abbé Hermann, installent à sa place, ou plutôt s'efforcent d'installer un des leurs, Eudes. Mais l'évêque d'Autun prend énergiquement le parti d'Hermann contre Cluny, et le maintient à Vézelay.

A Hermann succède l'abbé Geoffroy en 1037. Sous cet abbatiat se répand le bruit que les reliques de sainte Madeleine sont conservées dans l'église, et alors naît le fameux pélerinage qui devait attirer à Vézelay d'innombrables foules. Comment ces reliques y étaient-elles venues? Vers le dernier quart du neuvième siècle, racontait-on, le fameux comte Girart de Roussillon, informé que le corps de sainte Madeleine se trouvait à Saint-Maximin d'Aix, et fort exposé aux insolences des pillards sarrasins, dépêcha un certain Badilon, moine à Vézelay, pour enlever le vénérable trésor et le mettre à l'abri dans l'abbaye qu'il avait fondée. Badilon réussit à souhait dans sa mission. Peu nous importent les controverses nées autour de cette histoire. Il nous suffit de retenir la personnalité de son principal acteur. Le nom est connu par ailleurs. Et nous avons déjà rencontré le comte Badilon, de la cour de Charles-le-Chauve, qui relève en 870 Saint-Martin d'Autun de ses ruines, y installe, issus de son pays d'Aquitaine, les moines de Saint-Savin. Badilon fit plus: il entra lui-même à Saint-Martin, s'y fit moine et en devint abbé. Un sien neveu, du même nom, prenait le froc avec lui. Or, en 878, un nouveau désastre issu des luttes carolingiennes, fond sur Saint-Martin. Badilon le neveu se réfugie à Vézelay. Voilà donc, avec la colonisation de saint Hugues de Poitiers, une double relation qui s'est établie entre Saint-Martin d'Autun et Vézelay, et il y a toute apparence que le ravisseur des reliques de sainte Madeleine ne soit autre que Badilon le neveu.

Saint-Martin d'Autun a résisté, nous l'avons vu, à Cluny et donné à l'évêque Norgaud un précieux appui dans ses luttes contre les Clunisiens. Quelle sera l'attitude des moines de Vézelay? Nous la soupçonnons d'après le conflit d'Hermann en 1027, terminé au détriment de Cluny. Mais Cluny n'en devait pas rester là: après la mort de l'abbé de Vézelay, Geoffroy, appuyé par le comte de Nevers Guillaume I, petit-fils de ce Landry qui avait voulu déposséder l'abbé Hermann, saint Hugues de Semur, le grand abbé de Cluny, intervient. Il agit comme restaurateur ou gardien de la discipline monastique, au temps des abbés Etienne et Joceran (1083–1096). Urbain II, un Clunisien, approuve la soumission de Vézelay à Cluny (1096); une bulle de Pascal II (1100) la consacre définitivement, "furtivum quoddam privilegium sub nomine Paschalis secundi" déclare le chroniqueur Hugues de Poitiers (qu'il ne faut pas confondre avec le saint du même nom, prieur d'Anzy-le-Duc), défenseur farouche des prérogatives de son abbaye.[1]

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[1] Chérest, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 41, 42.

En 1096, l'élection du Clunisien Artaud comme abbé de Vézelay semble avoir sanctionné le droit par le fait. Or l'abbatiat d'Artaud, fécond par ailleurs, est singulièrement troublé: l'évêque d'Autun, Norgaud, n'admet pas l'indépendance dont se targue à son endroit Artaud au double titre d'abbé de Vézelay et de Clunisien; il interdit l'abbaye. Mais le pape Pascal II, un Clunisien encore, prend fait et cause pour l'abbé; l'évêque doit se soumettre. Cependant l'abbé impose aux bourgeois des charges nouvelles; une émeute populaire éclate, Artaud est massacré en 1106. Fait significatif, les meurtriers trouvent asile et protection dans les diocèses voisins.[1] Il n'est pas douteux que le ressentiment des bourgeois, et probablement aussi d'une fraction des moines, avait joué son rôle dans ce tragique incident et armé le bras des assassins contre l'intrus de Cluny. Et l'évêque Norgaud, le vieil ennemi de Cluny, n'a peut-être pas mis beaucoup d'empressement à empêcher la fuite des coupables. Cluny d'ailleurs fit front résolument, et le propre neveu de saint Hugues, Renaud ou Rainald de Semur, fut choisi et désigné comme abbé de Vézelay; il y demeura jusqu'en 1128, date à laquelle il devint archevêque de Lyon.

La succession de Renaud de Semur fait renaître les difficultés. Chérest [2] en a tracé le tableau, sans doute très exact. Les moines élisent un certain Baudouin, dont l'existence est certaine, qui reçut la bénédiction de l'évêque d'Autun, mais qui a disparu de la nomenclature officielle parce que Cluny ne le voulut pas reconnaître. Son successeur Aubry ou Albéric paraît en 1130 ou 1131; il y avait longtemps, selon une lettre d'Innocent II à l'évêque d'Autun, que le siège abbatial était vacant, parce que, à coup sûr, le choix d'Albéric, alors sous-prieur de Cluny, fut imposé du dehors par Cluny et par le comte de Nevers, tandis que les moines résistaient. Voyons plutôt l'accueil fait à l'abbé nouveau par sa communauté, d'après la chronique d'Hugues de Poitiers:

"L'église de la Madeleine réclamait sa liberté originelle, mais la violence d'Innocent II et du comte de Nevers fit triompher un certain Albéric, un intrus, imposé par les Clunisiens. A cette occasion, presque tous les frères de la susdite église furent chargés de fers, exilés en Provence, en Italie, en Germanie, en Lorraine, en France, en Angleterre, et dispersés ignominieusement, tandis que des étrangers s'introduisaient furtivement sur notre libre sol, et se rassemblant de toutes parts, comme sous un nouveau Sennachérib, y méritaient le nom de Samaritains." [3] Le choix était bon cependant, et l'abbé de grande autorité: vers 1138, Albéric fut promu cardinal-évêque d'Ostie, devint comme légat un personnage de premier plan et fut célébré par saint Bernard, son ami, comme un saint confesseur.[4]

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[1] Chérest, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 51, 102–104.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 38 sq. et 289.

[3] Cité et traduit par Chérest, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 41.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 293–295.

Mais la colère et l'indignation des moines de Vézelay et de leur chroniqueur Hugues de Poitiers n'avaient pas désarmé devant les mérites éminents de l'abbé Albéric: "L'insolence des moines de Vézelay," lit-on dans notre auteur, "avait mis en grand péril les droits de l'église de Vézelay.... Comme les étrangers convoitaient toujours ses richesses, et comme les indigènes, habitant les lieux voisins, pillaient sans cesse les propriétés de l'abbaye, les Clunisiens, s'abandonnant à leur paresse et à leur lâcheté, bien plus qu'occupés à défendre les libertés les plus précieuses, attirèrent à eux le comte de Nevers, et sous prétexte d'une fausse amitié, lui fournirent matière à toute sorte de prétentions tyranniques et de réclamations inusitées. C'est de leur temps qu'on vit s'introduire à Vézelay l'exigence d'une juridiction illégitime, la fréquence des procurations, la charge encore plus lourde des occasions, et la soumission à une foule de coutumes désastreuses, de telle sorte que la prospérité de l'église en fut presque anéantie. Peu à peu le venin pestilentiel d'une double servitude, servitude vis à vis de Cluny, servitude vis à vis des comtes de Nevers, infecta des pieds à la tête tous les abbés de ce siècle, jusqu'à l'avénement de l'abbé Pons, de bienheureuse mémoire." [1]

Cet abbé Pons, élu en 1138, n'est autre que Pons de Montboissier, le propre frère de l'abbé de Cluny, Pierre le Vénérable. Mais les relations si étroites de famille ne firent aucun obstacle à l'esprit d'indépendance de Pons qui, vis à vis de tous, se montra l'énergique et victorieux défenseur de l'autonomie de Vézelay. Lorsqu'il mourut, les voies étaient préparées: une bulle d'Alexandre III révoqua celle de Pascal II, retira Vézelay à la sujétion de Cluny. En 1166, la scission était définitive.[2]

Dans cette période si agitée de leur existence, de la fin du onzième siècle au milieu du douzième, les moines de Vézelay eurent donc à combattre à la fois les évêques d'Autun, Cluny et les comtes de Nevers, tous à quelque titre usurpateurs de leurs biens ou de leurs privilèges. Mais ils surent aussi s'allier à l'occasion à tel de leurs ennemis pour réduire les autres. Et c'est ainsi que nous voyons l'évêque d'Autun Norgaud lutter d'autorité contre l'abbé clunisien Artaud, appuyant en l'occurrence l'opposition d'une importante fraction de la communauté vézélienne. Etienne de Bagé, le successeur de Norgaud en 1112, est, lui, un ami de Cluny. Malgré cela, l'esprit vézélien demeure tenace: il subit sans l'accepter le joug clunisien, saisit toutes les occasions de le secouer, et réussit enfin à s'en affranchir par l'adresse de sa politique à l'égard du pape Alexandre III.

C'est, croyons-nous, à la lumière de ces faits qu'il faut étudier et commenter le monument exceptionnel qu'est, à tous égards, la grande abbatiale de la Madeleine de Vézelay.

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[1] Chérest, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 61, 62.

[2] *Ibid.*, t. II, pp. 9–17.

L'abbé Artaud probablement en commença la construction; en 1104 eut lieu une consécration; la petite chronique de Vézelay constate ce double fait: "Dedicatio ecclesie Vizeliaci ab abbate Artaldo edificate." Le 21 juillet 1120, un incendie éclate dans l'église et fait 1127 victimes, hommes et femmes. Nous ne sommes pas bien persuadé que l'abbatiale même en ait été très gravement endommagée.[1] En janvier 1132 le narthex est consacré par Innocent II.[2] Le sac des Protestants en 1569, la négligence et la décadence produisent aux dix-septième et dix-huitième siècles leurs effets naturels et, vers le milieu du dix-neuvième siècle, une ruine totale menace l'édifice:[3] "Les voûtes de la nef et du chœur étaient partout pénétrées par la pluie. La plupart des arcs doubleaux étaient brisés, tous complètement déformés. Les murs se déversaient de toutes parts. Tel était le délabrement de l'église que plusieurs fois, dans le Conseil Général du département de l'Yonne, on discuta la question de savoir s'il ne convenait pas de la démolir dans l'intérêt de la sûreté publique." Viollet-le-Duc, encore jeune, proposa cependant un plan de restauration qui ne fut pas sans inquiéter un peu par son audace les chefs administratifs de l'architecte. On approuva cependant ses devis avec beaucoup de recommandations de prudence. Tandis qu'on travaillait à la nef, une des voûtes du narthex s'écroula. Il est de mode aujourd'hui de critiquer vertement la restauration de Viollet-le-Duc; on oublie seulement que, sans elle, sans le génie et la ténacité de l'architecte, rien ne subsisterait.

Au cours de ses travaux, Viollet-le-Duc fit de précieuses remarques sur le monument et sur sa sculpture: "La construction de la nef," écrit-il, "indique une assez grande inexpérience ou plutôt une négligence singulière. Les voûtes, extraordinairement épaisses, sont mal contrebutées par des murs bâtis en petits matériaux, sorte de revêtement peu épais qui renferme un blocage. Les pierres sont pour la plupart mal choisies, et les claveaux des arcs, par exemple, taillés dans un calcaire argileux qui se délite dans tous les sens, étaient pour la plupart en si mauvais état . . . qu'il a fallu les déposer presque tous. Un grand nombre s'émiettaient, pour ainsi dire, aussitôt qu'ils n'étaient plus retenus par la pression même qui les avait fait éclater." Quant au narthex, il a été construit avec plus de soin et de meilleurs matériaux que la nef. ''On y reconnaît un art de construction déjà sensiblement perfectionné. La sculpture d'ornementation y est traitée avec beaucoup d'élégance."

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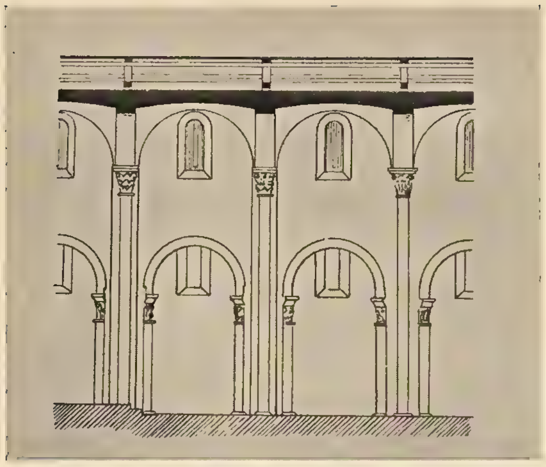
[1] Cf. Porée, *op. cit.*, p. 14; Chérest, *op. cit.*, t. I, pp. 287–288. M. Paul Deschamps, *Notes sur la sculpture romane en Bourgogne*, in *Gaz. des B. A.* (juillet-août 1922), expose avec raison qu'une catastrophe qui coûta la vie à tant de personnes implique que l'église était pleine de pélerins et qu'elle fut atteinte par le sinistre, avec grand dommage. Il faut noter cependant que les chroniqueurs insistent surtout sur le nombre des victimes, qui peut bien résulter d'une panique; et Viollet-le-Duc, dont le témoignage a du poids, dans sa notice des *Archives des Monuments historiques*, Ière Série, constate qu' "on ne retrouve pas de traces de l'incendie dans la nef qui existait à cette époque." Il est donc permis de faire quelques réserves sur l'ampleur des dégâts causés à la construction même de l'église, au dire de quelques archéologues, par le sinistre meurtrier. Quant à la clef de doubleau souvent alléguée comme témoin épigraphique et lapidaire de l'incendie et du dommage par lui causé, M. l'abbé Walter a proposé avec raison de n'y voir qu'une figuration purement symbolique rappelant le *Cantique des Cantiques* "Nigra sum . . .," sans aucune valeur chronologique et sans aucun rapport avec les incidents de la construction (*Bullet. monumental*, 1924, pp. 398–403).

[2] Chérest, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 292.

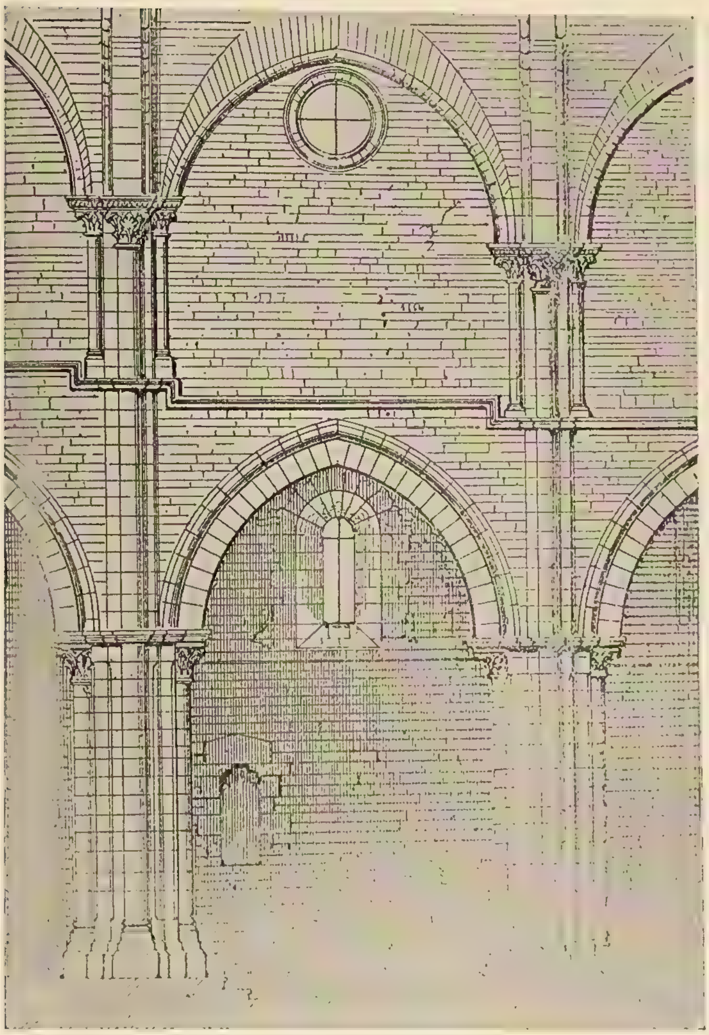
[3] Viollet-le-Duc, *Archives des monuments historiques*, Ière Série: *Vézelay.*

Sur la sculpture, les observations de l'architecte doivent être également retenues: ''L'exécution des sculptures de Vézelay se distingue par une intention dramatique souvent très grossièrement exprimée, mais toujours évidente. . . . Les artistes ont cherché l'expression par le mouvement. Les gestes sont énergiques, souvent violents, et, malgré l'incorrection d'un art encore au berceau, on est frappé parfois de la vérité de la pantomime. Si l'on s'arrête aux détails de l'exécution, on remarquera d'abord la longueur des figures, la gracilité de leurs membres, et la grosseur exagérée des têtes. La plupart des chapiteaux de la nef et les bas-reliefs du porche sont profondément refouillés, mais peu modelés; il semble que ce soient d'épaisses découpures appliquées sur un fond. . . . Les imagiers de Vézelay ont évité avec un grand soin les évidements; et quand ils avaient à faire un objet mince, le fût d'une lance par exemple, ils l'ont laissé adhérent au fond de leur bas-relief, dont il se détache en saillie, à vives arêtes, de 7 à 8 centimètres. . . . En examinant avec attention les chapiteaux de la nef et ceux du porche, on observe dans leur exécution des différences très marquées. Le progrès est sensible dans les seconds, mais les traditions locales se sont conservées pourtant et, si l'art a fait des progrès, les artistes ont continué à travailler dans le même système. Des sculptures qu'on peut regarder comme contemporaines, soit dans la nef, soit dans le porche, trahissent des mains fort inégalement exercées. Il est évident qu'un certain nombre d'imagiers ont été employés à la fois pour la décoration du monument et, comme on peut le penser, ils étaient loin d'avoir tous la même habileté. . . . On a lieu de croire qu'aussitôt qu'un chapiteau était terminé, il était mis en œuvre, sans qu'on fît grande attention à lui assigner la place la plus favorable. C'est ainsi que quelques uns des mieux sculptés ont été placés à une hauteur telle que, sans échafaud, on a peine à juger de la finesse du travail."

De ces constatations d'un architecte éminent qui a pratiqué autant ou plus que personne l'abbatiale de Vézelay au dix-neuvième siècle, peut-être conviendra-t-il de retenir quelques éléments utiles à l'histoire du monument. Ainsi la négligence de la construction en explique la rapidité; la différence technique qui sépare l'église du narthex rend possible un intervalle chronologique assez appréciable; la perfection plus grande, quoique dans un style voisin, des sculptures du narthex par comparaison avec les chapîteaux de la nef permet d'attribuer ces derniers aux vingt premières années du douzième siècle, sans anachronisme, même en admettant une réfection partielle après l'incendie de 1120; l'emploi immédiat des chapiteaux sculptés après leur



9. Bragny-en-Charollais. Coupe en long des Travées de la Nef (d'après Bulliot, *Essai . . . sur . . . St.-Martin d'Autun*)



10. St.-Lazare d'Avallon. Coupe d'une Travée (d'après le *Congrès archéologique de France, 1907, Avallon*)

achèvement répond à la question toujours discutée de la sculpture avant ou après la pose et range Viollet-le-Duc parmi les tenants de la première thèse, au moins en ce qui concerne Vézelay. Et nous sommes ainsi amenés à homologuer le jugement de M. Porée et à croire ce savant archéologue très fondé à écrire "que la nef, commencée en 1096, fut achevée dans les dix premières années du douzième siècle, et que le narthex fut élevé entre les années 1120 et 1135. La rapidité des deux campagnes de la construction se révèle du reste dans la parfaite unité de style de chacune des deux parties romanes de l'édifice, la nef et le narthex, l'une et l'autre manifestement bâties d'un seul jet, et elle s'explique facilement par l'abondance des ressources dont jouissait l'abbaye, alors à l'apogée de sa puissance et de sa fortune." [1]

L'abbatiale de Vézelay est un monument trop fameux pour qu'il soit opportun d'en refaire ici, après tant d'autres, la description détaillée. Nous limitant à la nef, nous remarquerons immédiatement que tous les profils en sont en plein cintre, et les travées de cette nef voûtées d'arêtes sur plan barlong; voûtes bombées à la clef d'ailleurs et du genre domical, ce qui entraîne pour les doubleaux à ressaut un cintre surbaissé. Les piles cruciformes comportent, sur chaque face, des colonnes engagées avec chapiteaux sculptés, bases à gros tore sculpté; ces colonnes reçoivent la retombée des grandes arcades, des doubleaux de la nef et des collatéraux; vers le mur extérieur des collatéraux, la retombée des doubleaux se fait aussi sur une colonne engagée sur dosseret.

En élévation, les grandes arcades sont à plein cintre un peu outrepassé et à ressaut. Au-dessus des grandes arcades, de même qu'à Saint-Lazare d'Avallon, un cordon mouluré et orné de rosaces marque la naissance de l'étage des fenêtres, entoure les ressauts de la pile et forme bague autour de la colonne engagée de la nef. Comme à Saint-Lazare d'Avallon encore, ce cordon sert d'appui, non pas à des colonnettes, mais à de courts pilastres cannelés supportant la retombée d'un formeret appliqué au mur goutterot. L'architecte a d'ailleurs, et logiquement, profité de la décharge du formeret pour amincir le mur goutterot qui se trouve, de la sorte, en léger retrait, vers la nef, sur le parement du rez-de-chaussée.

Nous n'avons pas ici à décrire en détail l'ornementation de l'église, et il nous suffira de résumer le jugement que porte sur elle M. Porée: [2] "Les moulures des tailloirs prolongées en bagues autour des colonnes, les rosaces des arcades et des doubleaux, le bandeau qui souligne l'étage où sont percées les baies, les petits pilastres cannelés accostés aux piles, la guirlande sans fin des formerets, les palmettes et les perles qui couvrent les bases des colonnes, l'alternance dans l'appareillage de pierres de teintes différentes, forment, avec les sculptures des chapiteaux, une décoration à la fois sobre et riche, et jettent comme une parure sur la sévérité des formes architecturales."

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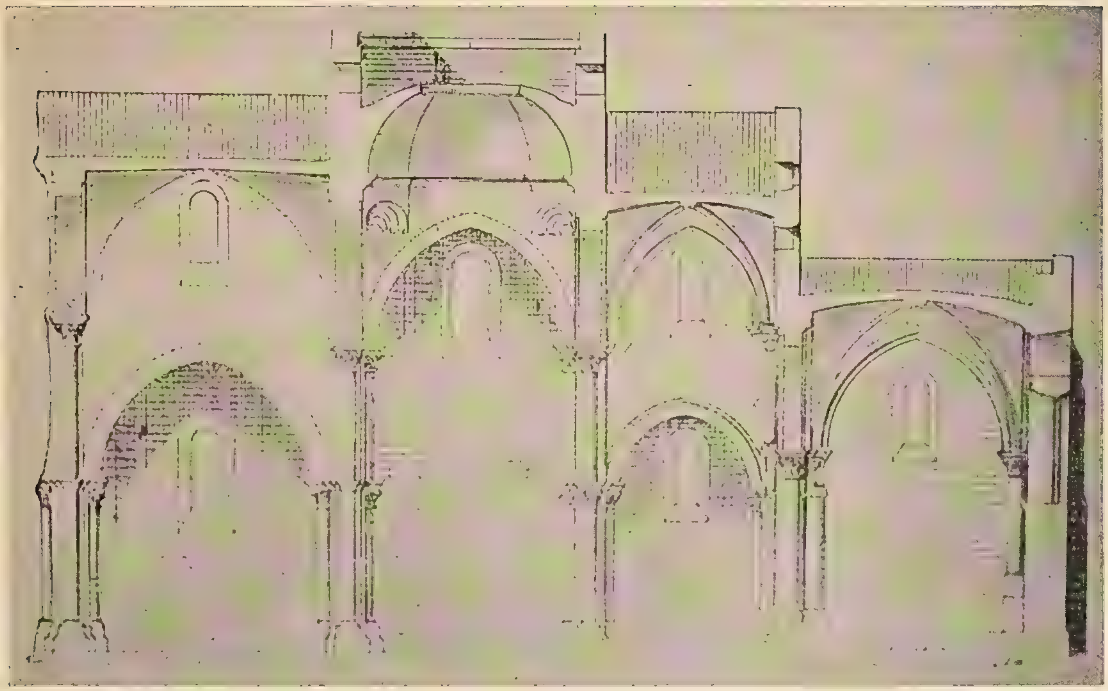
[1] Ch. Porée, *L'abbaye de Vézelay*, pp. 15, 16. Par contre nous ne pouvons admettre la thèse que les chapiteaux de la nef auraient été sculptés après coup, et seulement vers la fin du premier tiers du douzième siècle (p. 56).

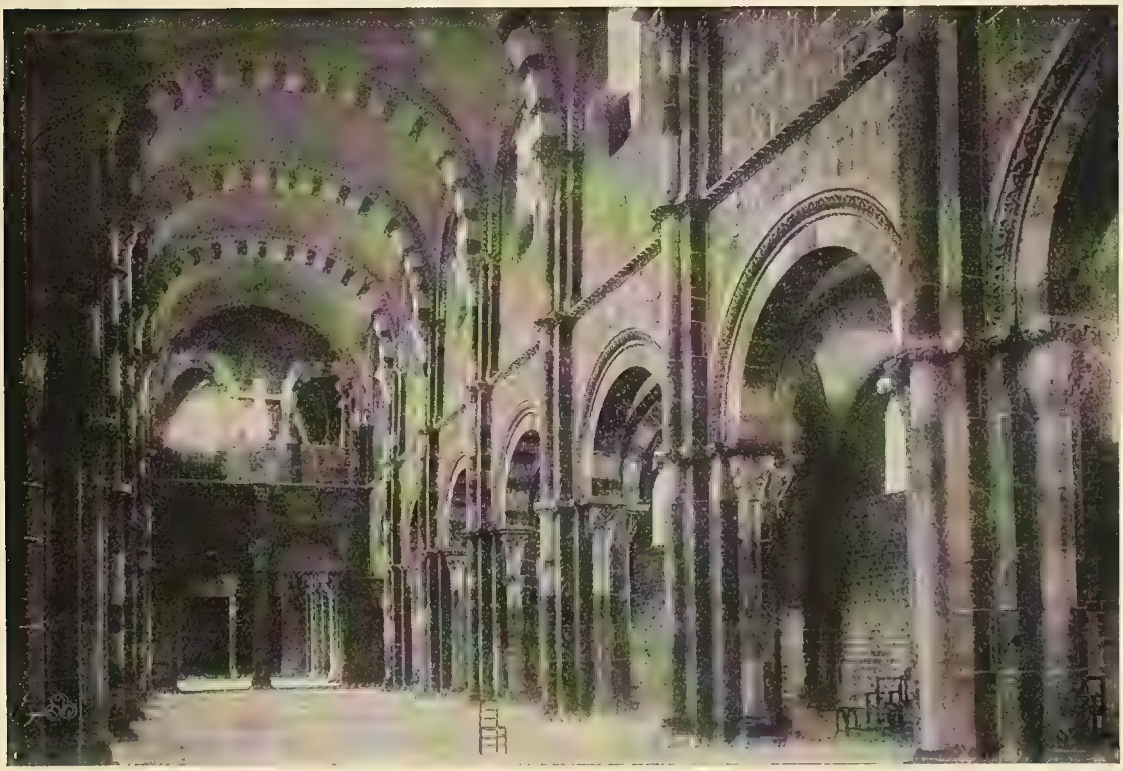
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 54.

Parure séduisante, certes, mais qui ne peut et ne nous doit masquer le défaut capital de Vézelay, l'équilibre mal assuré, l'absence de stabilité. Nous savons déjà par Viollet-le-Duc la médiocre exécution de la maçonnerie et la hâte corrélative de la construction. L'architecte de l'abbatiale, en adoptant une voûte d'arêtes de grande portée, fit bien preuve d'originalité, mais il ne sut pas en contrebuter suffisamment les retombées; il se contenta de minces contreforts, montés le long du mur goutterot, sur les dosserets des piles, vers les collatéraux. Sous la poussée des voûtes mal épaulées, les murs s'écartèrent, les doubleaux se déformèrent; il fallut jeter des tirants de fer en travers de la nef pour empêcher le déversement des murs et l'écroulement des voûtes, plus tard recourir aux arcs-boutants. Cet éclat et cette fragilité du monument sont l'image même du destin de l'abbaye: la vogue du pélerinage de sainte Madeleine lui valut une renommée qu'on égale à celle des pélerinages de Jérusalem et de saint Jacques de Galice; mais cette renommée engendra bientôt jalousie, critiques et controverses, par lesquelles sombra la dévotion aux reliques, la fidélité et l'affluence des pélerins.

Image fidèle aussi, cette église fastueuse, de l'incoercible indépendance des moines qui l'ont bâtie. Et ici l'histoire nous paraît en expliquer les formes et le parti architectural. Est-ce un hasard simple qui a créé les similitudes étranges de Vézelay avec les monuments issus de Saint-Martin d'Autun que nous avons énumérés? Récapitulons plutôt: comme à Anzy-le-Duc, comme à Bragny-en-Charolais, comme à Saint-Martin d'Avallon, la voûte d'arêtes a été choisie pour couvrir la nef. Saint Hugues à Cluny au contraire, et à Paray-le-Monial; Etienne de Bagé, l'évêque ami de Cluny, à Saint-Andoche de Saulieu ou à Saint-Lazare d'Autun qu'imite Notre-Dame de Beaune, ont fait choix du berceau brisé. Cluny, Paray, Autun et Beaune, Saulieu et nombre d'églises bâties par les Clunisiens ou dérivées de leurs méthodes en Bourgogne ont employé la grande arcade brisée, comme ils ont préféré le berceau brisé. Anzy-le-Duc, Bragny-en-Charolais, Gourdon aussi (prieuré non clunisien) préfèrent la grande arcade en plein cintre. Cluny et Paray, Autun et Beaune tirent de l'usage du pilastre cannelé d'heureuses variantes décoratives dans les lignes essentielles de la construction. Ni Anzy-le-Duc, ni Bragny-en-Charolais, ni Saint-Martin d'Avallon, ni Saint-Lazare d'Avallon ne veulent connaître autre chose que la colonne engagée; et c'est aussi le parti systématiquement adopté à Vézelay: les pilastres cannelés ne s'y voient que réduits à presque rien, courts, étroits, presque dissimulés dans un ressaut de l'étage des fenêtres, au lieu de s'offrir au regard sur une ligne maîtresse.



11. Saint-Martin du Bourg à Avallon. Coupe en long (d'après le *Congrès Archéologique de France, 1907, Avallon*)



12. Eglise Abbatiale de Vézelay. La Nef. (Phot. Arch. Phot. d'Art et d'Histoire)

Et l'élévation? Le type bourguignon classique, consacré, qui, dans la pensée des archéologues, résume et exprime l'école de la province, complétement évoluée, c'est l'étagement triple des grandes arcades, du faux triforium, des hautes fenêtres. C'est le mode de la grande abbatiale de Cluny, qui le définit, de Paray-le-Monial, de Saint-Andoche de Saulieu, de la cathédrale d'Autun, de la collégiale de Beaune. Vézelay, qui est pourtant un édifice considérable, et voulu somptueux et splendide, a renoncé à la donnée magnifique et superbe de saint Hugues à Cluny et à Paray, délibérément supprimé le triforium, et superposé directement les fenêtres aux grandes arcades, en sacrifiant à ce parti l'élancement de la nef. Certes la prudence le conseillait puisque les voûtes d'arêtes de grande portée n'auraient pu être impunément montées à une hauteur trop considérable. Mais précisément Anzy-le-Duc et Bragny-en-Charolais, comme leurs succédanés d'Avallon, Saint-Martin du Bourg et Saint-Lazare, ont aussi éliminé le triforium et directement monté l'étage des fenêtres sur les grandes arcades.

Ainsi toutes les caractéristiques d'Anzy-le-Duc (et du groupe qui en dépend étroitement, pour l'histoire comme pour l'architecture, c'est-à-dire du groupe qui a pour centre et origine l'abbaye de Saint-Martin d'Autun), toutes ces caractéristiques se retrouvent à Vézelay: voûte d'arêtes à la nef, soutenue par des doubleaux en plein cintre; proscription des pilastres cannelés et emploi unique de la haute colonne engagée montante; grandes arcades en plein cintre légèrement outrepassé; suppression du triforium. Pourquoi ces coïncidences dans les lignes essentielles, dans les éléments fondamentaux de la construction?

L'histoire répond à la question. Saint-Martin d'Autun, Anzy-le-Duc et Vézelay, par saint Hugues de Poitiers, par Badilon, ont eu d'évidentes relations, bien établies, essentielles par la qualité des personnages qui les ont créées ou manifestées. Sans doute, lors des grandes constructions de Vézelay, des abbés clunisiens gouvernaient le monastère: Artaud, puis Renaud (ou Rainald) de Semur, puis Albéric. Mais Artaud est assassiné en 1106, et Albéric ne s'installe en 1131 qu'avec beaucoup de peine, en exilant une partie de la communauté récalcitrante. Du temps d'Artaud, dans les premières années du gouvernement de Renaud à Vézelay, siège sur le trône épiscopal d'Autun l'adversaire déterminé et vigoureux de Cluny, l'évêque Norgaud, et Norgaud protège occultement les meurtriers d'Artaud.

Il n'est donc pas interdit de croire, il est même certain (le témoignage du chroniqueur l'atteste) qu'il existait, au sein même de la communauté vézélienne, un fort parti, autonome, très hostile à l'autorité de Cluny. Selon toute vraisemblance, il a fallu composer avec lui. Dans le même temps, Saint-Martin d'Autun et ses prieurés (Anzy, Bragny) soutenaient l'évêque Norgaud et résistaient de même à l'intrusion et à l'autocratie de Cluny. Les moines de Vézelay, les moines de Saint-Martin d'Autun, pour mieux manifester leur indépendance et prouver qu'ils pouvaient se passer de la grande abbaye bourguignonne, se sont soustraits à son architecture comme ils prétendaient s'affranchir de sa discipline et de ses observances régulières. Ils ont eu leur type à eux, ils l'ont adapté de formules anciennes et traditionnelles qui ne devaient rien à Cluny, ils ont réalisé des modes bien particuliers, qui leur sont propres, qui les constituent au point de vue architectural en groupe homogène (et l'histoire les relie aussi les uns aux autres), et qui, par un destin singulier récompensant parfois l'indépendance de la pensée, devaient, au prix d'un perfectionnement substantiel, donner l'essor à la magnifique architecture issue de la croisée d'ogives.

Ce monument étrange de Vézelay, unique en France de ce type avec de telles proportions, ne doit donc pas être regardé comme une singularité et une anomalie. Il a des racines profondes dans le sol bourguignon et dans l'histoire de la province, aussi bien par le culte qu'il abrite que par son architecture. Et sur sa colline aux péripéties tragiques, il proclame au loin l'orgueilleuse indépendance des moines qui l'ont dressé, *in potestate Vezeliacensi*,[1] en leur *Poté* souveraine.

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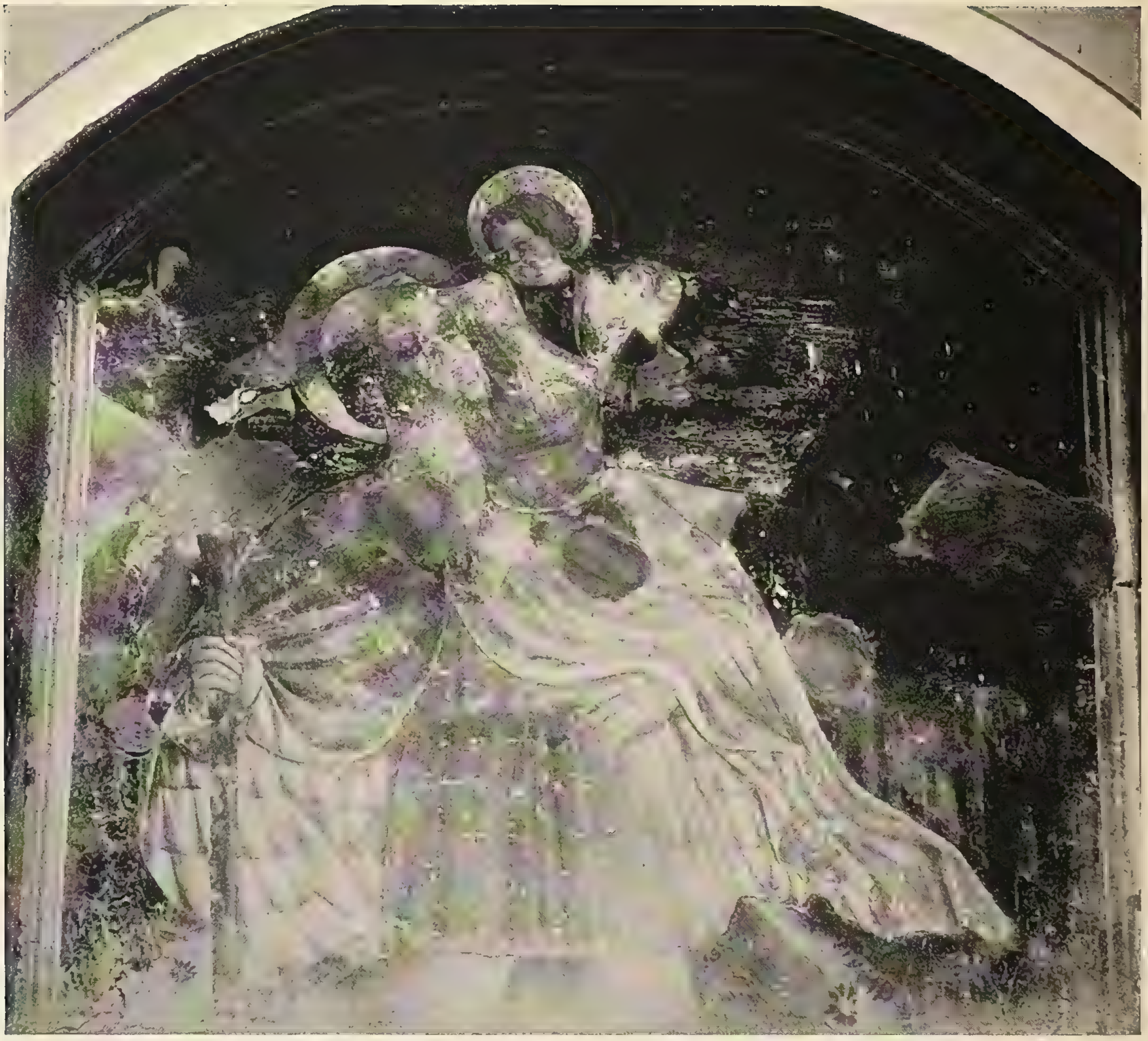
[1] Cf. Chérest, *op. cit.*, t. I, p. 3.

AN UNPUBLISHED FRESCO BY LORENZO VECCHIETTA



1. Vecchietta. Saint Christopher. Siena, Hotel Continental

AN UNPUBLISHED FRESCO BY LORENZO VECCHIETTA

By GEORGE HAROLD EDGELL

During a summer trip in 1926, the writer discovered a fifteenth century fresco which, as far as he knows, has been unobserved and unpublished. That it should have been overlooked is not surprising, since, although it is in Siena, where pictures are to be found at every turn, it is nevertheless in the last place which one would visit in search of fifteenth century art. It is a lunette over a doorway in one of the less frequented rooms of the Hotel Continental. The hotel is an ancient *palazzo*, transformed to modern uses, and the eastern end occupies a different building from that of the main body. Most of the decorations are entirely modern, but in the eastern part the writer discovered, by accident, the fresco which we reproduce and which represents St. Christopher.

I think there is little difficulty in recognizing the hand of Lorenzo Vecchietta. It is not quite so easy to place the work exactly in the master's *œuvre*. That it is subsequent to the work which he did in the Spedale della Scala at Siena is obvious. On the other hand, it is certainly not a late work and lacks entirely the subtlety and finish of such masterpieces as the Pienza Assumption and even the Madonna and Saints of the Uffizi Gallery, painted in 1457. It probably antedates the Uffizi work, however, by not many years, and, at a guess, may have been painted in 1450.

Its condition leaves much to be desired. There has been some repaint and the most important part of the composition, the head of St. Christopher, has been partially obliterated. Nevertheless, the work is interesting, especially since paintings by the master are comparatively rare. It is therefore of some importance to add one more painting to the list of the influential Sienese, from whose atelier issued such impressive figures as that of Neroccio di Landi, Francesco di Giorgio, and Benvenuto di Giovanni.

IL PROBLEMA DELL'ARTE SÂSÂNIDE

IL PROBLEMA DELL'ARTE SÂSÂNIDE

DI UGO MONNERET DE VILLARD

Nello studio dei rapporti artistici fra l'Oriente e l'Occidente durante i primi secoli dell'era volgare, e in generale per la formazione dell'arte medioevale, vi è un problema d'importanza fondamentale che non mi sembra sia stato sino ad oggi debitamente studiato. È il problema dell'arte sâsânide.

Intendiamoci bene: non credo debbasi limitare il valore del nome al suo ristretto significato storico, cioè alla formazione ed allo sviluppo dell'arte sotto la grande dinastia persiana fra il terzo e il settimo secolo, ne pur solo estenderlo a quello delle sue vicine e lontane origini o diffusioni; ma intendo invece considerarlo con una larghezza ben maggiore che il termine solo non indica. Quale io lo comprendo, il problema dell'arte sâsânide è ben più vasto, ed interessa strati di cultura e distese di territorio quali mai non ha dominato la dinastia iranica. In breve, arte sâsânide vuol dire da un lato l'ultima debole penetrazione dell'ellenismo verso Oriente, e dall'altro, ciò che più conta, largo fluire di forme asiatiche verso l'Occidente. In questo momento storico, come già altre volte, l'Iran funziona quale un veicolo e un filtro: un veicolo che accoglie e trasporta forme diverse e un filtro dove esse si elaborano, potente e sottile quanti pochi furono innanzi lui.

Dell'arte sâsânide molto si è parlato in questi ultimi cinquant'anni: possiamo però noi dire che essa fu seriamente studiata? Non lo credo. Dai tempi del Dieulafoy, che ha aperta la strada alle nostre ricerche con un'opera completamente sorpassata ma pur tanto meritoria come tutte le imprese dei precursori, non vi è lavoro grande o piccolo il quale tratti della primitiva archeologia medioevale che di essa non tenga conto. Ma se pur si pubblicarono nuovi monumenti, se d'altri già noti si diede una migliore edizione od una più accurata analisi, se alcuni testi furono esplorati e chiarite le concordanze fra essi ed i monumenti, se una più precisa cronologia ci ha permesso di tracciare per grandi linee l'andamento dello sviluppo, siamo noi sempre nompertanto allo stadio delle indagini particolari, nella limitata erudizione chiusa entro lo studio d'un dettaglio ed alla quale sfugge la completa visione dell'assieme. Certo è che contributi quali furono quelli portati dagli studiosi ultimi del problema, dallo Herzfeld e dal Sarre in primo luogo, sembrano sorpassare questo stadio preliminare; ma pur bene esaminati, neppur essi prendono in esame tutto il complesso della questione e ne penetrano le viscere più recondite. Certo è che dell'arte sâsânide manca uno studio globale, un quadro d'assieme: alcuni di quelli che recentemente furono tentati (penso a certe pagine del Huart) sono lavori infantili.

Ad un profondo ed esauriente studio dell'arte sâsânide parecchie difficoltà si sono opposte e si oppongono tutt'ora. La prima è data dalla quasi impossibilità di grandi scavi nel suolo iranico e mesopotamico e anche per questo ultimo, dalla maggior attrazzione che presentano all'indagine moderna altri strati di cultura, quelli cioè più direttamente collegati coi problemi biblici. Si scavano città sumeriche, assire, babilonesi, ma Seleucia o Ctesifonte, ad esempio, rimangono inesplorate. Una seconda difficoltà sorse, in questi ultimi anni, da un improvviso accumularsi di nuovo ed inaspettato materiale. Le esplorazioni del Turckistân cinese aperte dalle spedizioni russe e continuate con tanto successo da Grünwedel e Von Lecoq e dallo Stein, ci hanno rivelato tutto un vasto territorio che per un lungo periodo storico fu teatro di penetrazioni artistiche e culturali indiane, siniche e iraniche. Gli oggetti che quel suolo pietoso ci ha restituiti sono della più grande importanza per le nostre ricerche ed hanno arricchito meravigliosamente i dati che erano a nostra disposizione. Nello stesso modo la missione Foucher nell'Afganistân ci lascerebbe sperare una larga messe relativa ai rapporti diretti indo-iranici ed alla funzione della Bactriana in quel periodo. Già i rilievi dei freschi di Bamiyân portano un nuovo elemento alla conoscenza della pittura sâsânide. Con queste scoperte non sono solo problemi di diffusione ma anche problemi di origine che vengono riportati in primo piano dai fondi nebulosi in cui giacevano. Un terzo ordine di difficoltà ci è dato dalla rinnovata documentazione sui quesiti dell'archeologia turanica e sui rapporti che essa ha da un lato con la produzione sâsânide e dall'altro con quella che così impropriamente è chiamata "arte barbarica," come se quei Germani che hanno rinnovato il vecchio continente decaduto nella putrefazione dell'estremo Impero e creata la nuova Europa, in cui e di cui tutti viviamo, fossero dei barbari. Dall'aver posto con maggior precisione il problema della produzione artistica turanica, e anche da un rinnovato studio del problema scitico, sorge una più esatta discriminazione nelle origini di tutto quel ricchissimo repertorio decorativo, così nuovo e così caratteristico, che troviamo all'inizio del medioevo: gli elementi più propriamente sâsânidi vengono isolandosi e precisandosi. Un'altra quarta difficoltà fondamentale nasce dalla poco facile accessibilità dei testi storici a cui dobbiamo ricorrere per lo studio della civiltà sâsânide e degli altri popoli orientali che con essa hanno avuto stretti rapporti. Poichè le notizie che ci interessano si trovano in opere redatte nelle più diverse lingue, in pehlevi, in persiano, in siriaco, in arabo, in cinese. E molti di questi testi sono inediti o male editi, pubblicati cioè da filologi per filologi, senza una traduzione ed un adeguato commentario che li renda accessibili anche agli storici.

Questi e molti altri ostacoli secondari hanno tanto impegolati i movimenti degli studiosi, che nessuno ancora si è accinto a darci dell'arte e della cultura sâsânide quello studio completo ed esauriente, s'intende nei limiti della nostra attuale documentazione, quale abbiamo il diritto e la necessità di attenderci. Difficoltà di materiale documentazione, si dirà, dunque materialmente sormontabili. Ma a fianco altrettanto e forse più gravi le difficoltà teoretiche.

Se la dinastia sâsânide rappresenta un vigoroso e sano risveglio dello spirito nazionale, la ribellione completamente vittoriosa all'ultimo tentativo d'occidentalizzazione dell'Iran, l'arte di quel periodo non soddisfa certo la possibilità d'essere definita con una formula così semplicista. Ed è dal concetto generale che di tale arte ci facciamo, che può scaturirne l'esatta comprensione, o al contrario condurci inesorabilmente per vie senza uscita. Su questo punto capitale è bene intenderci. L'arte sâsânide non è un'arte nazionale nel senso comune che noi diamo alla parola, cioè peculiare ad un dato popolo e senza vitali elementi estranei entrati nella sua formazione. La storia stessa ce ne dà una prima ragione. La potenza sâsânide, pur provenendo dall'interno altipiano, ha avute le sue più grandi sedi e si è svolta si può dire nel bacino mesopotamico. Bacino mesopotamico è in altre parole largo sottostrato di popolazione aramea sul quale i puri iranici si sono sovrapposti senza penetrarlo a fondo ne tanto meno assimilarlo. Vi è dunque già all'inizio un doppio problema: ciò che è propriamente un apporto nuovo del nuovo popolo e ciò che è elaborazione di elementi preesistenti. Il primo aspetto del problema ci guida necessariamente all'analisi delle forme artistiche proprie agli abitanti dell'interno altipiano ed ai suoi naturali rapporti sia verso nord, con i centri di cultura bactrianici e sinici, quanto a sud con quelli indiani. Ciò deve condurci a spiegare l'abisso che separa l'architettura achemenide da quella dei parti e dei sâsânidi: tutti i quesiti della vôlta a botte, della cupola e di non poche forme decorative, vi si riattaccano. Il secondo aspetto del problema è in fondo quello del tardo ellenismo asiatico e della sua particolare espressione ed evoluzione nella Mesopotamia. Ne l'uno ne l'altro si limitano cronologicamente fra la vittoria di Ardashîr e la fuga di Yazdgerd, ma rimontano in gran parte già ad epoca anteriore alla prima, e continuano di poi, dopo la caduta del regno, per un lungo periodo dell'epoca musulmana. E durante tutto lo svolgimento della dinastia, una serie di fatti viene a richiamarci entrambi i problemi, quasi ad ammonimento continuo della duplice genesi: sarà il trasporto di operai siriani, romani o gerosolimitani, lo sradicamento di intere popolazioni portate sin nei centri della Susiana ed adibite ad opere costruttive; e dall'altra parte il continuo, lento ma sicuro fluire d'uomini e di cose dai più lontani e misteriosi paesi dell'Asia per le immutate ed immutabili vie carovaniere; la Strada del Nord, la via Regia, la via della

Seta che ai passi del Pamir già s'affaccia al mondo occidentale; la Strada del Sud, la via delle Indie, aperta a tutti gli apporti dei mari tropicali. Basta già accennare a tutto questo per vedere come porre il problema dell'arte sâsânide quale un puro fenomeno di risveglio nazionalistico iranico (e da qualcuno ciò fu fatto) è assolutamente errato, e può per sempre impedircene la soluzione. Esso ha ben altra ampiezza, e ciò mostra subito l'estensione che deve prendere la nostra analisi.

Bisogna ritornare al concetto che ho sopra esposto: l'arte sâsânide è il risultato di una serie di azioni e di reazioni fra numerosissimi elementi che bisogna discriminare con sicurezza non solo allo scopo di ben conoscerne l'esatta storia interna ma anche, ciò che a noi pur tanto interessa, per la valutazione delle sue influenze. Da questo ultimo punto di vista l'analisi diventa molto delicata, in quanto noi dobbiamo dapprima identificare quanto è propriamente sâsânide in tutte le derivazioni e gli apporti asiatici che vediamo fluire in Occidente, indi ancora riconoscere le vie ed i mezzi del loro trasporto. Quando si parla di influssi sâsânidi, sempre si ricorre ai triti esempi di una diaspora siriana, di rapporti commerciali, di scambi fra il mondo bizantino e l'iranico. In tutto ciò vi è molto di buono e molto di vero, ma non tutto il buono è vero, ne il vero è buono. Ad ogni modo sono delle spiegazioni monche ed indeterminate. Diaspora siriana è, ad esempio, diffondersi di aramei più che di iranici: sono i primi che hanno portato forme architettoniche proprie alla Mesopotamia in Egitto, in Dalmazia, nella Spagna. Il fatto che alcune chiese dalmate od egiziane si riattaccano a monumenti di Amida o della sua regione, ci costringe a domandarci come questi si sono formati, e con quali elementi sâsânidi e con quali non-sâsânidi, e in che modo e in qual tempo. Così d'altra parte le forme mesopotamiche che riscontriamo nella Spagna sollevano un delicato problema di trasmissione riguardo ai rapporti archeologici fra la penisola iberica e le vallate del Tigri e dell'Eufrate. Si è parlato di una iranizzazione dei Goti conquistatori; il fatto, pur vero, non chiarifica il problema, in quanto le forme mesopotamiche non appaiono nei monumenti spagnoli dell'epoca Visigota, ma invece sopratutto dopo la caduta del Regno, nell'arte mozaraba e nella asturiana. I rapporti debbono dunque esser stati indiretti, e il veicolo delle forme potrebbe trovarsi in quei cristiani della Siria o dell'Egitto travolti fin nella Spagna dalla conquista musulmana. Rapporti archeologici fra l'Egitto copto e la Spagna cristiana sono d'altra parte abbondanti.

Quest'ultimo accenno ci apre la prospettiva di nuove difficoltà: è un mal vezzo degli studiosi dell'archeologia medioevale il trascurare l'arte primitiva delle regioni divenute musulmane, quasi che una differenza di fede stabilisse anche una differenza artistica: il che non è. Arte musulmana, fino almeno al consolidarsi dei Fatimiti, è naturale sviluppo d'arte siriana, d'arte mesopotamica e d'arte copta, con fortissime penetrazioni iraniche. In realtà, dalla caduta dell'Impero al decimo secolo circa, non si può parlare (salvo che per la materia iconografica) d'arte cristiana o d'arte islamica o di particolari arti dei diversi popoli europei: bisogna invece parlare di un'arte mediterranea sulla quale, in alcune parti, la religione getta un velo leggierissimo che facilmente possiamo penetrare: esso non maschera i tratti della realtà.

E la realtà è questa: una serie di popoli che sono stati fra loro in contatto più o meno intimo nelle regioni che si stendono fra le pianure caspiche e i deserti dell'Arabia settentrionale, hanno conquistati tutti i paesi od hanno profondamente influito sui popoli vicini, lungo tutti i bordi del gran mare interno; vi si sono stabiliti non solo quali dominatori politici ma ancora come dominatori artistici. Che questi popoli siano cattolici o ariani, giacobiti o musulmani, poco conta, giacchè la differenza della loro fede non interferisce nella loro espressione artistica. Che nelle singole regioni l'arte assuma fisonomie particolari dovute al perpetuarsi di tradizioni locali non completamente dimenticate, ad eredità indistruttibili, e in parte anche ad un primo accennarsi delle caratteristiche delle varie razze che vi si sono stabilite, è cosa naturale: ma osservar questo non può impedirci di riconoscere la parentela fondamentale. Solo col passare dei secoli, e parecchi ne occorsero, la differenziazione evolutiva si accusa così profondamente da darci veramente il diritto di parlare d'arti diverse. E allora, mentre si gettano le basi dei grandi stati nazionali, con loro lingua e loro letteratura, con diversità di caratteristiche ormai maturatesi e quindi con un particolare obbiettivo politico e possibilità di sviluppo, allora solo possiamo veder delinearsi anche delle arti che dai diversi popoli meritano di assumere il nome.

Tocchiamo così veramente il centro di tutte le questioni. Se si accetta questo speciale punto di vista, l'esistenza cioè di un'arte mediterranea fra il quarto e il decimo secolo, con tutte le sue sfumature regionali ma anche con la sua indiscutibile compattezza originale, si viene nello stesso tempo a stabilire un legame di interdipendenza fra tutti i fenomeni artistici che si manifestano nei paesi attorno al Mediterraneo e nel loro *hinterland;* e mentre il problema dello svolgimento viene semplificandosi, maggior importanza sempre più acquista quello delle origini. Ho detto che con questa constatazione tocchiamo il centro di tutte le questioni, in quanto il punto di partenza di tale processo evolutivo, il punto da cui nasce la spinta prima a questa trasformazione è nel mondo sirio-iranico, e il momento storico in cui la genesi si inquadra è quello della dinastia sâsânide. Ultime tradizioni ellenistiche, influssi dell'Asia la più lontana, apporto dei popoli nomadi, caratteristiche proprie dell'Iran, mille elementi diversi vengono gettate in questa enorme fucina. E' tra il Caspio e il Golfo Persico che il processo si elabora, perchè in questa regione si verifica per la seconda volta il contatto, e per tanto infine anche la sutura, fra due mondi che erano stati sin'allora quasi completamente disgiunti: l'ellenistico e l'asiatico. Ciò che era già avvenuto in un certo senso ma senza profondità e per breve periodo ai tempi di Alessandro, si ripete con diverso carattere ed anche con diversa forza e fortuna. Al tempo della conquista macedone la penetrazione violenta e l'importazione forzata di forme ellenistiche aveva potuto creare un movimento artistico brillante, che sembrò per un momento abbracciare tutto il mondo civile, dalla Grecia al Gandhara e foggiarlo secondo il suo ideale. Ma come tutte le creazioni della forza, anche questa fu effimera; troppo puzzava del campo della falange. E scomparve quasi col declinare dei Diadochi, non persistendo se non in quell'arte indo-ellenistica proprio là dove la penetrazione occidentale era stata meno profonda. Il chè provò la vitalità del connubio.

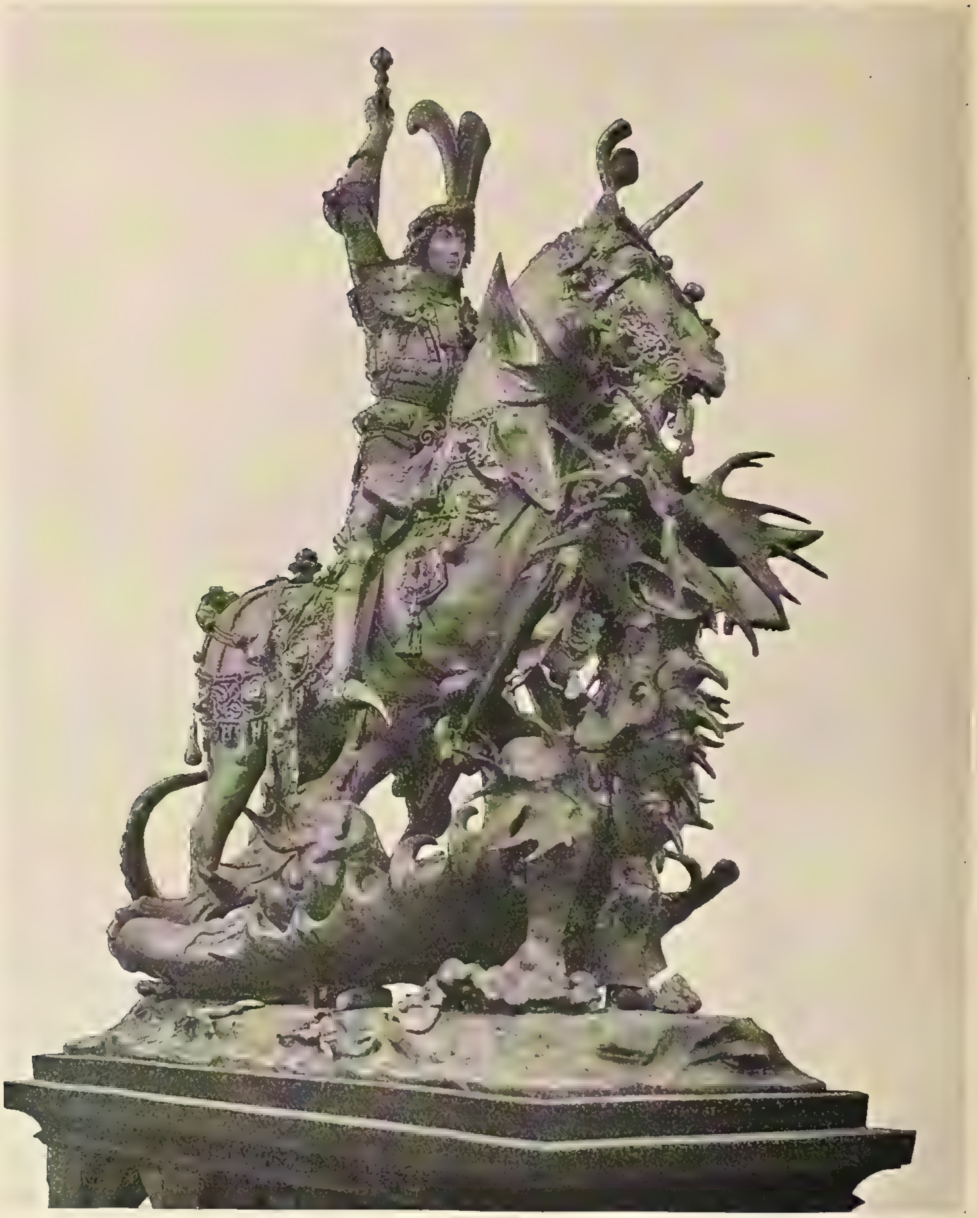
Quando per la seconda volta il contatto intimo si ripetè, cioè sotto i sâsânidi, le modalità furono ben differenti. Non importazione violenta ne da una parte ne dall'altra, ma un naturale avvicinarsi di spiriti diversi che si sommano o si elidono in un gran lavoro di epurazione. Si direbbe quasi che nel vasto territorio orientale ove il fenomeno ha luogo, dalla Siria al Pamîr, dalle pianure scitiche e germaniche all'Arabia, la parte migliore dell'umanità, la migliore perchè porta in sè i germi del futuro, stia facendo un bilancio ed una revisione di tutte le sue conquiste artistiche: abbandona quanto è per essa spiritualmente sorpassato, vivifica quanto ella crede poterle servire nei secoli venturi. Per mille rivi questo nucleo euro-asiatico spinge le sue influenze in tutti i paesi mediterranei: attraverso i Germani orientali, la stirpe Gota più delle altre evoluta; a mezzo dei Turanici che in lunghe scorribande penetrano sin nelle Gallie e che irradieranno le loro forme dalle sedi Pannoniche; intaccando la poco salda compagine ricca di tradizioni ellenistiche dell'arte imperiale d'Oriente; diffondendosi con nuclei di Siriani o d'Armeni in ogni centro di cultura europea, e infine affidando alla violenta conquista musulmana il compito di aprirle le vie fino alle lontane rive atlantiche. E si forma l'arte medioevale mediterranea. Il concetto che la così detta arte cristiana sia di origine orientale, è una della brillanti conquiste dell'archeologia moderna, a dispetto e scorno dei pochi misoneisti che ancora si inginocchiano davanti agli altari della Dea Roma. Ma un'arte cristiana non esiste in quanto arte, cioè espressione: vi sono solo delle idee cristiane espresse artisticamente. Il concetto di questa origine orientale va dunque esteso a tutta la prima arte medioevale, sino all'inizio di quel periodo che noi chiamiamo romanico. Tale arte non può essere compresa se non come antitesi all'arte classica, qualcosa di ben diverso e quasi d'opposto, sia negli spiriti quanto nelle forme, a ciò che aveva formato l'ideale romano, anche se, ad un osservatore superficiale, sembra conservarne qualche fuggevole aspetto. ''Orient oder Rom'' fu e poteva essere il motto di una prima battaglia, dura e violenta in quanto doveva scalzare delle posizioni tenute da secoli. Vinta ormai questa decisamente, si potè ancor battagliare con diversa fortuna intorno ad un primato ipotetico di Bisanzio: ma già con ciò la lotta veniva allontanandosi dall'antica dominatrice del mondo che sparisce dietro i veli di un passato senza ritorno. Oggi la questione è entrata ormai nella sua fase risolutiva: il materiale accumulato con ricchezza insperata, le analisi particolari abbondantissime, non lasciano dubbio sulla soluzione che verrà data.

Chi ha seguito attentamente lo svolgersi del problema, le ipotesi che man mano venivano avanzate, le tesi nuove, i nuovi materiali utilizzati, ha ben visto come dai tempi del De Vogüé ad oggi esso si è arricchito in estensione e profondità. L'arricchimento andava di pari passo con una maggior conoscienza scientifica del territorio asiatico: dapprima tutta l'attenzione si accentrò sui monumenti della Siria interna, ma in breve apparve chiaro come essi fossero insufficienti, e si mise in gioco l'Egitto, poi l'Asia Minore. Ma Egitto e Asia Minore, e l'Armenia ultima apparsa nell'agone archeologico, mostrarono facilmente come le origini fossero più lontane, più penetrate nel vivo del corpo asiatico; apparve chiaro come tutte queste arti avessero comuni elementi originari che ognuna aveva già svolto con caratteristiche particolari. Il focolare primo si trovava nell'ambiente iranico-mesopotamico. Al di là di questo era il vasto mondo asiatico con la sua particolare vita, con la sua civiltà, col suo ideale. Sull'abisso che separa i due potevano venir gettati dei ponti, poteva avvenire qualche contatto e qualche scambio. Condizioni storiche specialissime li favorirono ancora per un breve momento, e ciò ebbe a portare i migliori frutti. Poi nuovamente il dissidio fra l'Oriente e l'Occidente fu insuperabile.

Chiarire il complesso fenomeno artistico, culturale e storico che si svolse nell'Iran e attorno all'Iran fra il quarto ed il decimo secolo, ecco quello che io chiamo studiare l'arte sâsânide, che su tutto mette l'impronta della sua genialità e che ben merita di legarvi il suo nome.

Risaliamo così alle fonti prime di quell'arte che fu anche nostra.

A PLASTIC CYCLONE



1. Bernt Notke. St. George and the Dragon

A PLASTIC CYCLONE

BY KUNO FRANCKE

SCHOLARS have known for some time that toward the end of the fifteenth century Lübeck artists, and particularly Lübeck sculptors in wood, held a position of leadership for a large part of northern Germany and for the entire Baltic coast, similar to the influence exerted over most of southern Germany by the Nuremberg school and over the Rhineland by the masters of Cologne. Until very recently, however, no adequate conception of the wealth and power of this Lübeck sculpture of the end of the Middle Ages had been formed even by scholars of the very city of its origin. And had it not been for the remarkable exposition of medieval Lübeck art which, in connection with the seven hundredth anniversary celebration of the city's birth, was arranged last year by Dr. Heise, the accomplished director of the Municipal Museum, Germany at large would still be unaware of the great plastic achievements of the Hanseatic masters.

This Hanseatic sculpture lacks perhaps the deep inwardness of the Nuremberg school. It has nothing of the childlike loveliness of the Cologne painters. It does not possess the harmonious rhythm so conspicuous in Michael Pacher and other Austrians. But it compensates for such shortcomings by a remarkable virility, an adventurous grotesqueness and boldness, a determined intensity and a fantastic exuberance. It seems an art eminently suited to the weather-beaten, seafaring life of the North, with its vehement squalls and continuous rain storms, and its brief, sharp atmospheric effects of startling brightness and radiance.

The foremost representative of this Lübeck school of art is the wood carver, Bernt Notke, a man of strikingly powerful personality, whose activity and fame reached their height in the last two decades of the fifteenth century. Strange to say, he was entirely forgotten in the centuries following his death. Only within our own memory has his name been restored, by such scholars as Goldschmidt, Dehio and Pinder, to its rightful place as one of the greatest names of all medieval German art.

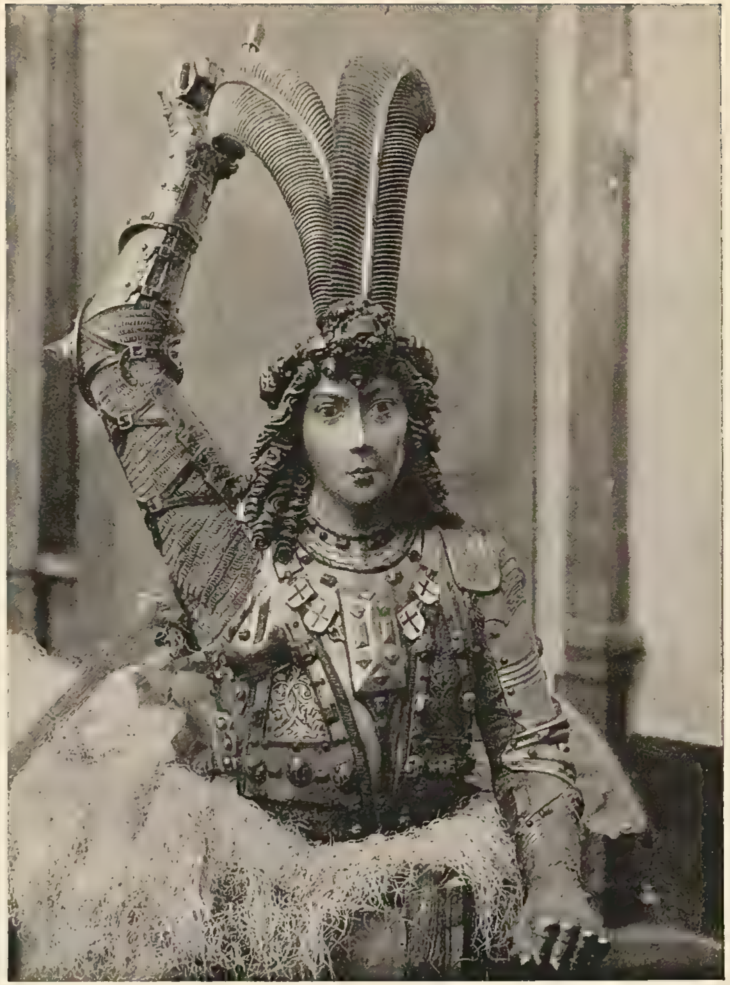
Of his colossal group of St. George and the Dragon, executed about 1490 for the cathedral of Stockholm, a tinted cast was presented by Lübeck's sister cities, Hamburg and Bremen as a jubilee gift for the celebration of 1926. It naturally formed the center of the memorial exposition in the ancient Katharinenkirche, which I had the good fortune to visit last summer. I confess that I have never seen anything aesthetically more baffling, challenging, or inspiring.

As one approaches the group, the first impression is that of inextricable confusion — a gigantic tangle. The rider with his dazzling armor, the gorgeous plume adorning his head, his enormous sword swung high, his innocent boyish face, the long curly locks falling over his shoulders; the white dappled horse, with his extraordinary trappings and brilliant caparison, his stylishly braided tail, his excited eye, impetuously galloping to meet his foe. This appears to be not so much a dragon as a thicket of cacti or a barricade of antlers or a group of incredible and ghostly forms — it all seems such confusion, such a wild, inchoate mass of detail that one is tempted to say, "This is no art, this is an hallucination, a devilish nightmare."

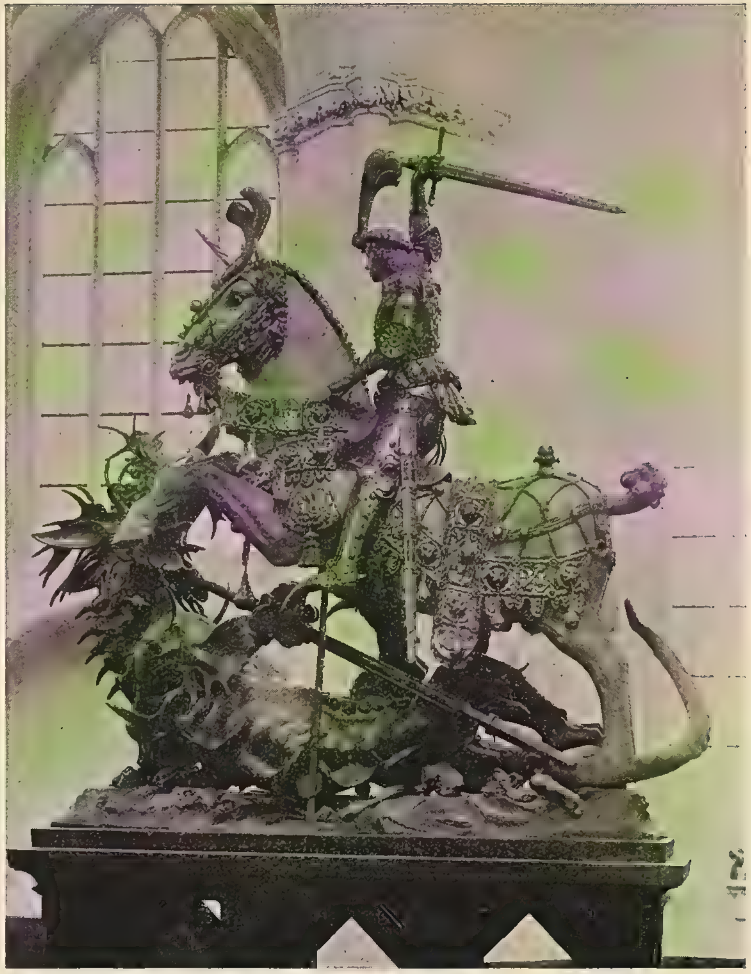
But gradually, as the eye becomes used to this maze of contrasts, one realizes that a mighty rhythm courses through it. Slowly details of the monster become evident: he has been thrown on his back by the lance of his adversary, he holds the broken shaft defiantly in his right front claw, and, writhing with pain, he clutches his own tail with one of his hind claws, while with the other he strives to rip up the horse's belly; he arches his long spiked neck in defiance of the rider, his fearful jaws yawning wide, with the huge poisonous tongue shooting up like a lambent flame. And in St. George himself one is made to feel, with all his gorgeously fantastic apparel, the essentially deep simplicity and divine nobility of the youth, as he stands erect in the stirrup and with calm and childlike confidence lifts the sword for the fatal stroke, at once a Siegfried and a Parzival.

In short, one feels that here, in spite of all the exaggeration and heaviness of detail, there is a tremendous vitality of the whole, an irresistible movement, a conception of splendid proportions. One is under the spell of a superlatively great creation of plastic art.

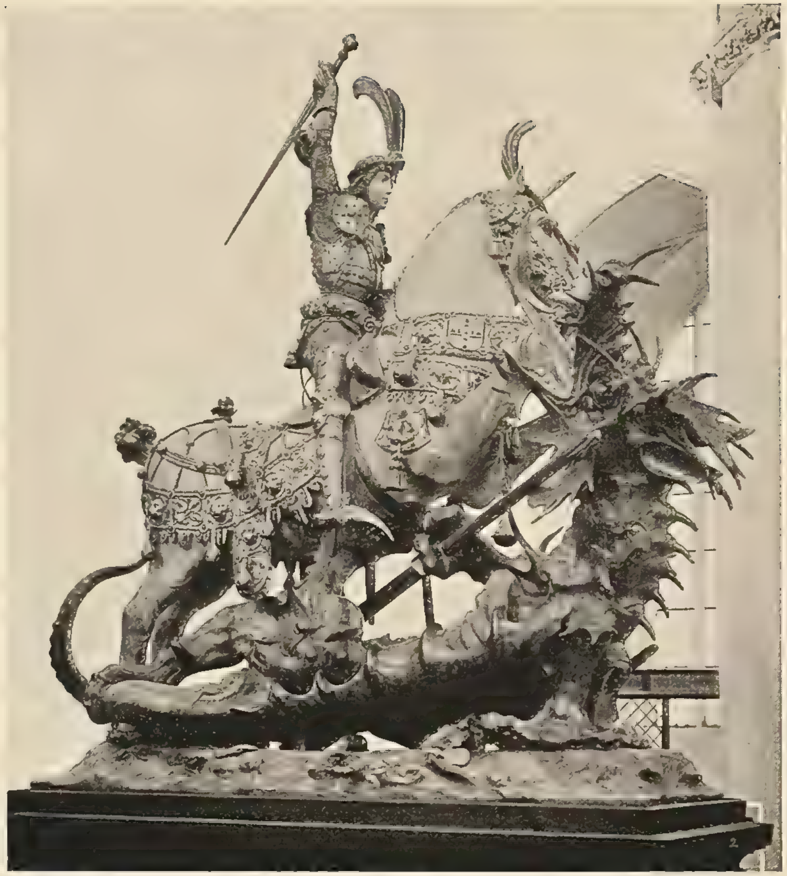
This north German St. George is indeed a hurricane compressed into form. It is one of the marvels of art.



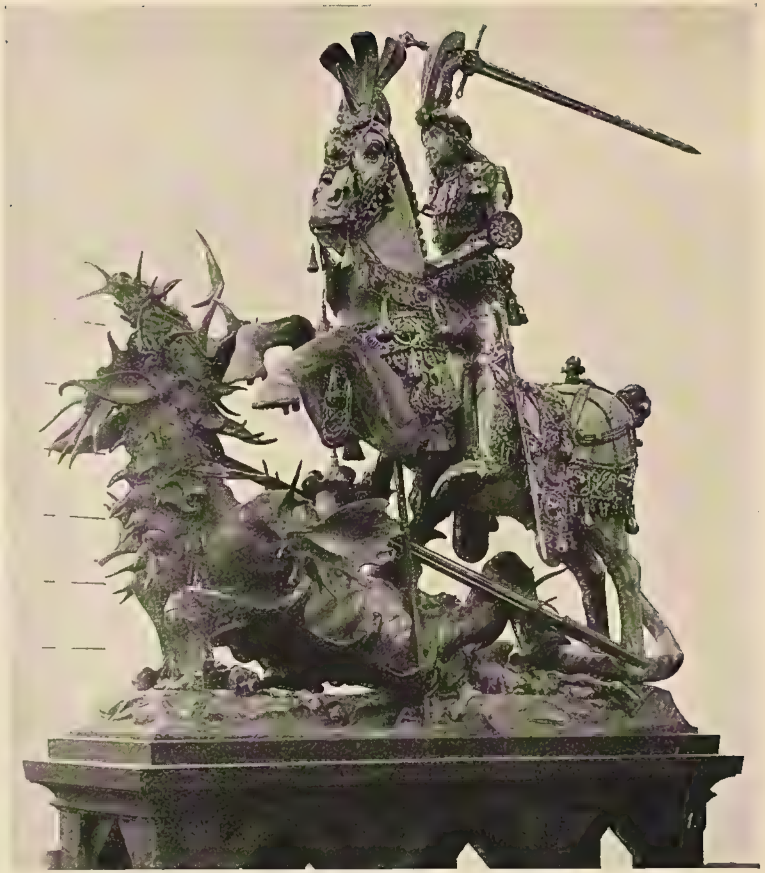
2. Bernt Notke. Head of St. George



3. Bernt Notke. St. George and the Dragon

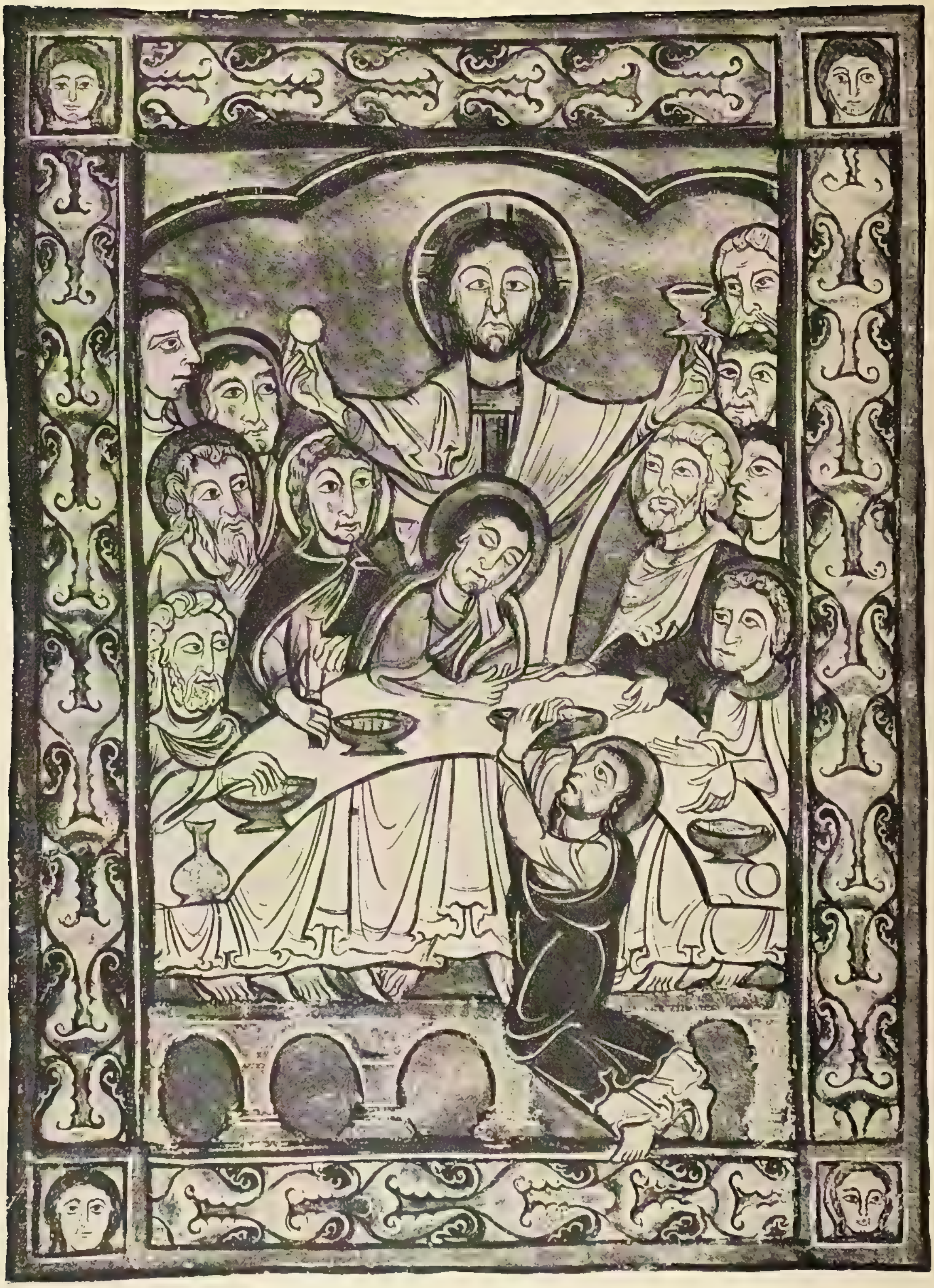


4. Bernt Notke. St. George and the Dragon



5. Bernt Notke. St. George and the Dragon

THE TABLE OF THE LAST SUPPER IN RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR ICONOGRAPHY



1. *Limoges Gospels*. Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

THE TABLE OF THE LAST SUPPER IN RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR ICONOGRAPHY

By LAURA HIBBARD LOOMIS

No two things could seem more remote from each other than the story of the Apostolic Last Supper and that of the splendid feast at which, according to the Norman poet Wace,[1] who was writing in 1155, King Arthur ordained the fellowship of the Round Table and seated his great vassals in equality about it. Yet it is possible not only to show from literary evidence the connection between the two, but also to trace the derivation of the earliest representations of the Round Table, as indeed of many feasting scenes that antedate 1350, from those of the Last Supper. Furthermore it appears that for the iconography of the Last Supper itself, the shape of the table is of peculiar importance. It offers an astonishing clue to the differentiation of Last Supper scenes and to the establishment of certain relationships between them. Finally, it illustrates in striking fashion, since the rounded table in the Last Suppers antedating the twelfth century was not the table of ordinary Western usage, the extraordinary conservatism of Western European art in following its earliest models, and it leaves us at last with the difficult problem of deciding whether in truth it was *Orient oder Rom* which gave to modern European art the straight table type of Last Supper, the type made supremely famous by Leonardo da Vinci.

I. THE LAST SUPPER AND SECULAR ART

The first medieval statement of a relationship between the table of the Last Supper and the Arthurian table seems to have been made by Robert de Boron, a Burgundian poet.[2] In his trilogy of metrical Arthurian romances, *Joseph d'Arimathie*, *Merlin*, and *Perceval*, written in the closing years of the twelfth century and the opening years of the thirteenth, he attempted completely to Christianize the *matière de Bretagne*. Just as the ancient Christians sought to find in the Old Testament "adumbrations" of the New, so Robert and other similarly inspired men, sought to find in Apocryphal lore and Celtic legend material suitable for such symbolic interpretation. Thus was told the story of Joseph of Arimathea, first apostle to Britain, who, like a second Moses, led his people through desert lands. For their need he was commanded to make a table on which were to be shown a fish and the holy vessel, the Grail. Twelve places were to be at this table and one was to be left vacant in memory of Judas. In the romance of *Merlin*, the wizard commands Uther, father of Arthur, similarly to make "el non de la table de la chainne (Cène)," a third table which with the two others should symbolize the Trinity, and at which a place should be left that would not be filled until the coming of him who should achieve the Grail. In the Modena manuscript of the Didot *Perceval* (Weston, *Perceval*, vol. II, p. 15), Arthur announces his desire to hold a great feast, "car je volrai molt onerer le table reonde que Merlins estora au tans Uterpandragon mon pere, et si i volrai asseoir as xii lius les xii pers de ma cort." In this romance it is Perceval who takes the vacant place at the Round Table; in the *Queste del Saint Graal* it is Galaad, here identified with Christ himself, who takes the Siege Perilous.[1]

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[1] *Roman de Brut*, ed. Le Roux de Lincy (Rouen, 1836–1838), v. 9994 ff. Wace refers specifically to chairs about the table and to the equal service given the knights. For this and allied passages in the *Chronicles* see R. H. Fletcher, *Arthurian Materials in the Chronicles* (Boston, 1906), Index, *Round Table*.

[2] Nitze, *Manly Anniversary Volume* (Chicago, 1923), dates Robert's *Joseph* between 1191 and 1201 and establishes the fact that Robert was a Burgundian.

These passages have of course been long known to Arthurian scholars, but they have been discounted in all discussions of the origin of the Round Table as being comparatively late in date and obviously pietized in content. In an article in the December number of the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* for 1926 I have questioned previous theories concerning the Round Table and set forth some of the evidence, long since gathered by students of Early Christian art, showing that for the first eleven centuries of the Christian era the rounded table, represented as a sigma, an oval, or actually round, occurred regularly in Last Supper scenes.[2] At almost any time, therefore, up to the middle of the twelfth century, the round table might have been used as a symbol of the divine fellowship and have been transferred to Arthurian uses in precisely the same way that the twelve apostles became in Carolingian story the prototypes of *li doze per*, as Gautier has pointed out in his study of the *Chanson de Roland* (Tours, 1872, vol. II,

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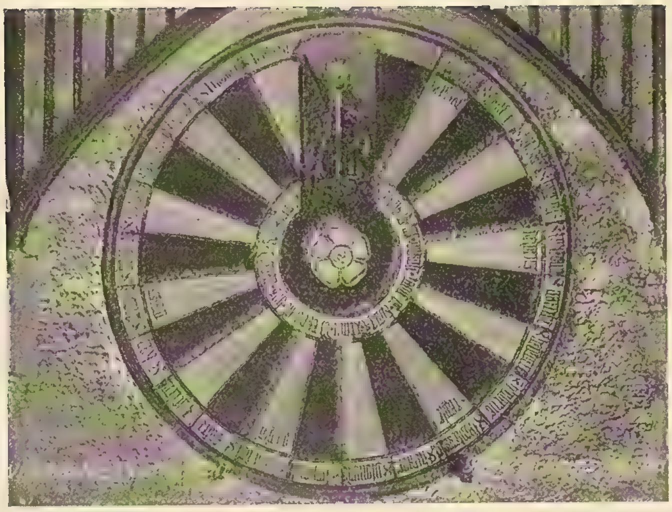
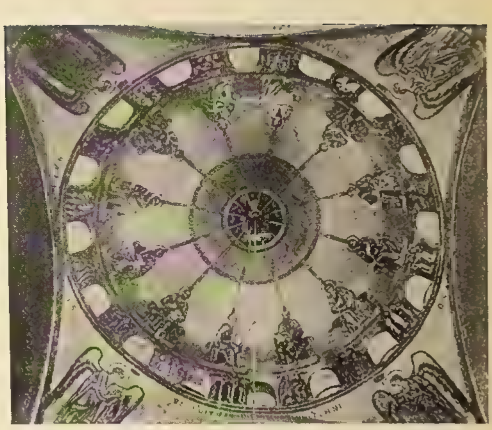
[1] The most convenient summaries and bibliographies of the romances here cited are given by Bruce, *Evolution of Arthurian Romance*, Göttingen, 1923; *Joseph*, vol. I, pp. 230 ff.; *Merlin*, vol. II, pp. 312 ff.; *L'Estoire*, vol. I, pp. 374 ff.; *Queste*, vol. II, pp. 360 ff.; Didot, *Perceval*, vol. II, pp. 104 ff. For present purposes it seems irrelevant to discuss Bruce's attempt (vol. II, p. 106) to distinguish between the Grail Table and the Round Table since he himself admits that the latter was modelled on the former, though without suspecting that this "modelling" implied form as well as function.

The evidence cited by Bruce (vol. II, p. 128) as to the Biblical and Apocryphal sources followed by Robert for his *Joseph* is of particular interest for this inquiry since it shows that Robert was versed in manuscript lore, and it was in manuscripts particularly that the round table type of Last Supper persisted longest.

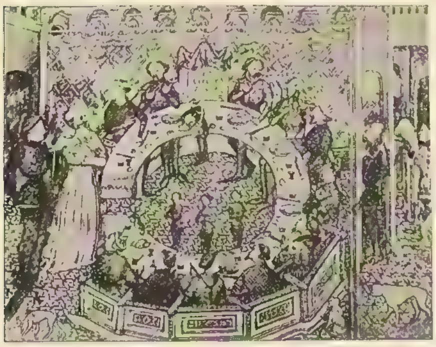
[2] Dobbert, *Repertorium f. Kunstwissenschaft*, vols. XIII–XVIII, 1890–95; Millet, *L'Iconographie de l'Evangile*, Paris, 1916; E. Baldwin-Smith, *Early Christian Iconography* (Princeton, 1918), pp. 129–41; Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911), Index. Dobbert's summary of European examples of the Last Supper, *Repertorium*, vol. XVIII, is especially helpful on the subject of illuminations. For further references see the notes of this article. Invaluable as are the studies here named, not one attempts to trace the transition from the oldest, the round table type of Last Supper to the straight table type, or to define with any precision the period in which it took place.



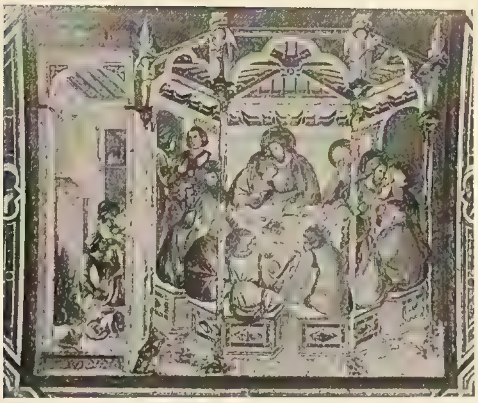
2. The Round Table, Winchester



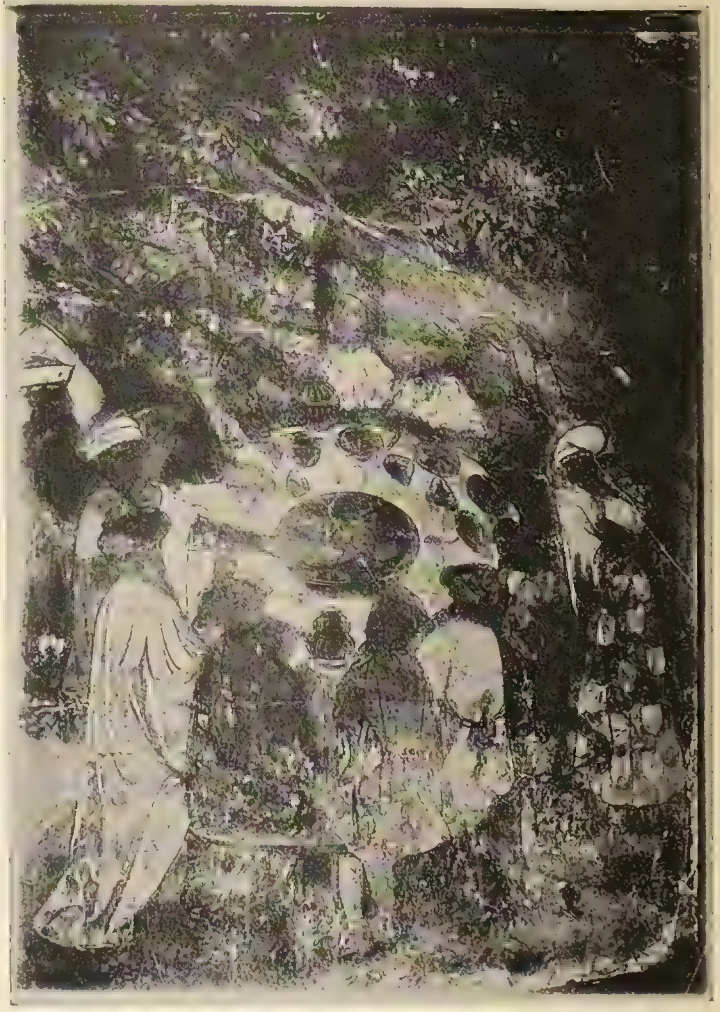
3. The Descent of the Holy Spirit.
St. Mark's, Venice



4. The Round Table.
Lancelot Manuscript, Paris



5. The Last Supper.
Lower Church, Assisi



6. Arthur's Round Table. Castle Runkelstein, Tyrol

pp. 73–75), or, to turn to a well-established instance of secularization in art, that the Nativity scene with the Virgin lying in bed, was transformed by fourteenth century illuminators of the *Roman de la Rose*[1] into the picture of the pensive lover, chin propped in hand, lying on his couch and dreaming of the rose. Such transformations can occasion no surprise to the student of medieval art and story, though the significance of their interchange has been insufficiently recognized.

In the present case the constant relationship of the representations of Christ and the Apostles and the Arthurian fellowship can be clearly proved. The famous Round Table,[2] (Fig. 2) a flat circular piece of wood, still hanging in Winchester Castle Hall, even as it did when Caxton referred to it in his famous preface to Malory's *Morte Darthur,* was probably a fourteenth century invention, repainted with its present center, a Tudor rose, in the sixteenth century. Lines radiating from the center divide it in twenty-four spaces. Originally, it would seem, twelve of these were inscribed with twelve names, but in some later repainting twelve more names were added. The twelve original places at this Arthurian Wheel of Fame, as it might be called, are exactly paralleled in those representations of Christ and the Apostles in the Descent of the Holy Spirit of which the twelfth century mosaic in St. Mark's west dome (Fig. 3) gives a good illustration.[3] If, however, the Arthurian representation be taken, not as a wheel, but as a table top, the original twelve places would correspond with the literary tradition recorded in the Didot *Perceval* and with an illumination in a fourteenth century manuscript of the prose *Lancelot* (Fig. 4), now in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. In this the table is represented not only as round but hollow, with servitors inside its circumference. The knights sit about the table in curious pew-like seats decorated with bands and panels. Beyond the curtained and arcaded room are little exterior scenes with figures of men and dogs. Most of these details so oddly match those in the Last Supper (Fig. 5) in the lower church at Assisi, a picture formerly attributed to Pietro Lorenzetti,[4] that it is difficult not to suspect some actual influence. The use of the round table in this fourteenth century painting was for that period a distinctive and archaistic feature.[1] The interesting handling of the shape of the room and the design of the seats, the lively side scenes where, as Professor Mather remarks, "cats lurk and scullions wash dishes," distinguish this Last Supper and make it not impossible that the French or Italian illuminator of the *Lancelot* had this particular picture in mind. Certainly in its tesselated floor, its columned and curtained background, the illumination suggests Italian, rather than French, influence. Still another painting (Fig. 6) of the Round Table, this time from Castle Runkelstein in the Tyrol, shows its relationship with Last Supper scenes.[2] In this late fourteenth century fresco German influence is predominant and betrays itself plainly in the elaborate costume of the eleven figures seated at the round table and of the others standing about it.

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[1] Cf. A. Kuhn, *Die Illustration des Romans de la Rose, Jahrb. d. Kunsthist. Sammlungen d. allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses,* vol. XXXI.

[2] Smirke, *The Hall and Round Table at Winchester, Proceedings of Archaeological Institute of Great Britain,* 1846. The earliest known reference to this table is in the early fifteenth century chronicle of Hardyng (ed. Ellis, 1812, p. 146). It is perhaps not without interest to know that the modern tourist may have his tea served on a capital reproduction of this table at King Arthur's Castle Hotel, Tintagel, Cornwall.

[3] This familiar dome decoration is undoubtedly to be related to certain wheel-like designs in the manuscripts, for example, in the twelfth century *Hortus Deliciarum* where there are "wheels" of Christ, of Fortune, of the Arts, of Vices and Virtues. I am indebted to Professor Myrtilla Avery of the Wellesley Art Department not only for calling my attention to the dome of St. Mark's and to one of the earliest of the manuscript wheels, that in the eleventh century Bari *Exultet Roll,* but also for the original stimulus of my interest in this whole subject. The Princeton *Index of Christian Art* has also afforded me some valued help.

[4] Both Mather, *History of Italian Painting* (1923, p. 78), and R. van Marle, *Development of Italian Schools of Painting* (1924, vol. II, p. 355), reject this as Lorenzetti's work. But see F. Antal, *Jahrb. f. Kunstwissenschaft,* (1925–26, pp. 211 ff.).

In the illustrations of the Round Table so far noted, in which the apostolic number of men appear at the table, or in later ones in which the number of knights varies,[3] it is clear that artists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were controlled by the realistic necessity of presenting as round the famous table so long associated with Arthur's name. Whether they were also influenced by the specific and unusual examples of religious art to which I have likened them may be left to individual opinion, but there can hardly be any question that the thirteenth century illuminator of the *Parzival*[4] of Wolfram von Eschenbach was controlled, not by the realistic implication of his text, with its clear references to Arthur's Round Table, but by what was in his day the conventionalized pattern for feast scenes. In his picture (Fig. 8) Arthur sits at a long straight table covered with a heavily draped cloth and set with an array of dishes on one of which a fish is plainly visible. The king's right hand is raised in blessing. The illuminator has secularized the figures and the costumes of those at each side of the king, but the fidelity with which he has kept to an essential pattern is indicated by comparison with the early twelfth century relief at Dax,[1] which pictures the Last Supper (Fig. 9). In this is the pattern used in practically all Romanesque and Gothic art.[2] Carved in stone, as in the frieze at Pistoia (Fig. 10), or in ivory or wrought in metal, used, especially in Burgundy under Cluniac influence, as a supreme exhortation to piety,[3] the sacrament of the Last Supper was, after the beginning of the twelfth century, thus familiarized to the eyes of medieval Europe: a straight table set with chalices of wine, with Hosts, with the Eucharistic fish; behind the table a row of figures, the central one with hand upraised in blessing — or accusation — these were all part of the formula which was regularly and more or less completely adopted by religious and secular artists alike.

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[1] See below, sections II and III. A. van Scheltema, *Über die Entwicklung d. Abendmahldarstellung* (1912), in his illustrations, shows the continuity of the rectangular table type from the time of Giotto.

[2] The Runkelstein paintings were made for Nicholas Vintner, whose coat of arms appears several times among them. Cf. H. Dickinson, *German Masters of Art* (1914), pp. 27–28; also Zingerle, Seelos, *Freskencyklus des Schlosses Runkelstein.*

The round table type of Last Supper had what might almost be called a revival of popularity in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Flanders and northern France. In the Martin A. Ryerson Loan Collection of the Art Institute of Chicago is a fifteenth century panel of the School of Amiens (Fig. 7) in which the increasing realism of Renaissance art is amply evident. Director Harshe of the Institute likens this panel to the Last Supper (c. 1470) in the Musée Royal, Antwerp, and to an engraving (c. 1485) by Master I. A. M. Zwolle. There are many analogies between these instances and others of the same general period which, however, have the square table, — for instance, Dirk Bouts' Last Supper, Louvain Cathedral, and that by Albert Bouts in the Brussels Museum (*Gallery Catalogue of the Ryerson Collection*).

[3] Reproductions of several illuminations from MSS of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries are given by Lanson, *Histoire Illustrée de la Litt. Française* (Paris, 1923), vol. I, pp. 45–46 (here Fig. 4); and by Bédier, *Histoire de la Litt. Française* (Paris, 1923), vol. I, p. 40. At least twenty-one knights, crowned and in ermine robes, surround the holy table in MS. *Fr. 112*, Bibl. Nat., Paris, in the illumination reproduced by F. Lot, *Lancelot en Prose*, Paris, 1919. In Arthurian texts, other than the texts of Robert de Boron and others almost equally pietized, there is complete lack of uniformity as to the number of knights of the Round Table.

[4] From MS. *oGm 19*, Munich, reproduced from K. Benziger, *Parzival in der deut. Hds. Illustration des Mittelalters* (Strassburg, 1914) Pl. 30.

The suddenness and completeness with which this pattern displaced an older one will be discussed later on in this paper. For the moment we may note not only the compelling though incongruous influence of the Romanesque type of Last Supper on the supposedly Round Table scene in the *Parzival*, but prove the same point by reference to other scenes of secular feasting. For it readily appears that a constant relationship existed between them and the Last Suppers belonging to the oldest, the round table type, and those of the straight table or Romanesque type.

With the exception of the Arthurian feast scenes, in which a round table was necessitated by the fame of Arthur's most famous possession, it is practically impossible to find in medieval secular art after 1100 and before 1350, any feast scene which does not in general conform to the pattern set by the Romanesque type of Last Supper. If it be argued that plain reality rather than a specific pattern of religious art offered the model for the trestle table, the draped board, the chalices of wine, the round pieces of bread, one must answer: then why the almost inevitably recurring fish, the rarity of any attempt to represent the meat courses for which medieval banquets were famous? Why the central figure with hand upraised? Why, above all, the peculiar little servitor kneeling alone on the forward side of the table? Though he does not appear in the Last Supper of Dax, commonly of course in both types of Last Supper, Judas is represented as kneeling or sitting alone on the forward side of the table either to receive the sop (John xiii, 26) or to dip his hand into the dish with that of Jesus (Matthew xxvi, 23).[1] In the Last Supper scene of the *Limoges Gospel* which, through the courtesy of the Pierpont Morgan Library is here reproduced (Fig. 1), Judas is shown in such guise that he seems almost to be offering the golden dish he holds in both hands. The ease with which a secular artist could adapt this figure or one like it might be shown by almost innumerable examples, since the single servitor appears almost as inevitably in secular feast scenes as Judas in the Last Supper, but one example must suffice. It comes from a fourteenth century manuscript (Fig. 11) of the *Alexander* romance[2] and shows us Judas converted into a little servitor daintily offering the erstwhile Eucharistic fish to his lord.

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[1] From Ill. 331 of Porter's *Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, 1923. To Professor Porter I am indebted for permission to use several plates from his monumental work and for most helpful references.

[2] All examples of the Last Supper given by Koechlin, *Les Ivoires Gothiques Français* (Paris, 1924), have the straight table. Of the twelve Last Suppers given by Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen aus der Zeit der karolingischen u. sächsischen Kaiser* (Berlin, 1914), only five (vol. I, nos. 31, 76, 124; vol. II, nos. 62, 87) are of any variety of the round table type. In Porter's *Romanesque Sculpture* there are seventeen examples of the straight table type: Ill. 93–94, Neuilly-en-Donjon; Ill. 111, St.-Julien-de-Jonzy; Ill. 136, Dijon; Ill. 174, S. Ambrogio, Milan; Ill. 194, Volterra; Ill. 199, Pistoia; Ill. 331, Dax; Ill. 661, San Millán de la Cogolla, Logroño; Ill. 875, Ciudad Rodrigo, Salamanca; Ill. 1079, Selles-sur-Cher; Ill. 1136, Vouvaut, Vendée; Ill. 1148, St.-Pons, Hérault; Ill. 1185, Vizille; Ill. 1214*a*, Nantua; Ill. 1292–95, Beaucaire; Ill. 1318, St.-Gilles; Ill. 1361, Arles. In five instances the table is curved to suit the curve of the capital on which it stands, with the result that some of the apostles have their backs to each other: Ill. 471, Toulouse; Ill. 543, Huesca; Ill. 728, Lugo; Ill. 1103, L'Ile Bouchard; Ill. 1214, Issoire. Aside from these examples, which are altogether unlike the round or sigma tables of the oldest type of Last Supper, Professor Porter gives but one instance in stone carving of a curved table, Ill. 110, Charlieu, which is of course a *tour de force* of decorative skill.

[3] Cf. Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIIe Siècle*, pp. 420–22: "La Cène figure le sacrement de l'Eucharist."

The comparative rarity of secular feast scenes before 1100 makes their evidence all the more convincing. In them, in absolute contrast to the straight tables which appear almost without exception in both religious and secular feast scenes after that date, and in surprising contrast to what we know of actual medieval usage in the matter of dining tables from the Roman period to 1100, the tables are represented as round. Three examples of widely varied date and character must suffice. The first (Fig. 12) is from the *Codex Romanus*[3] of Virgil, which Professor Lowe of Oxford has recently ascribed to the fourth or the fifth century. It presents the feast of Dido, Æneas and Anna. The ladies are distinguished by their Phrygian caps; they recline on a sigma-shaped couch before an oddly rounded table on which, for no reason save that an artist influenced by Christian tradition was illustrating this pagan poem, lies the symbolic fish. The fish is as significant as the haloes about the heads of the feasters. The whole composition is close to those early representations of the Last Supper itself or of primitive Eucharists, in which even as few figures as three or four appear at the table.[4] A second instance is afforded by an eleventh century manuscript of Prudentius's

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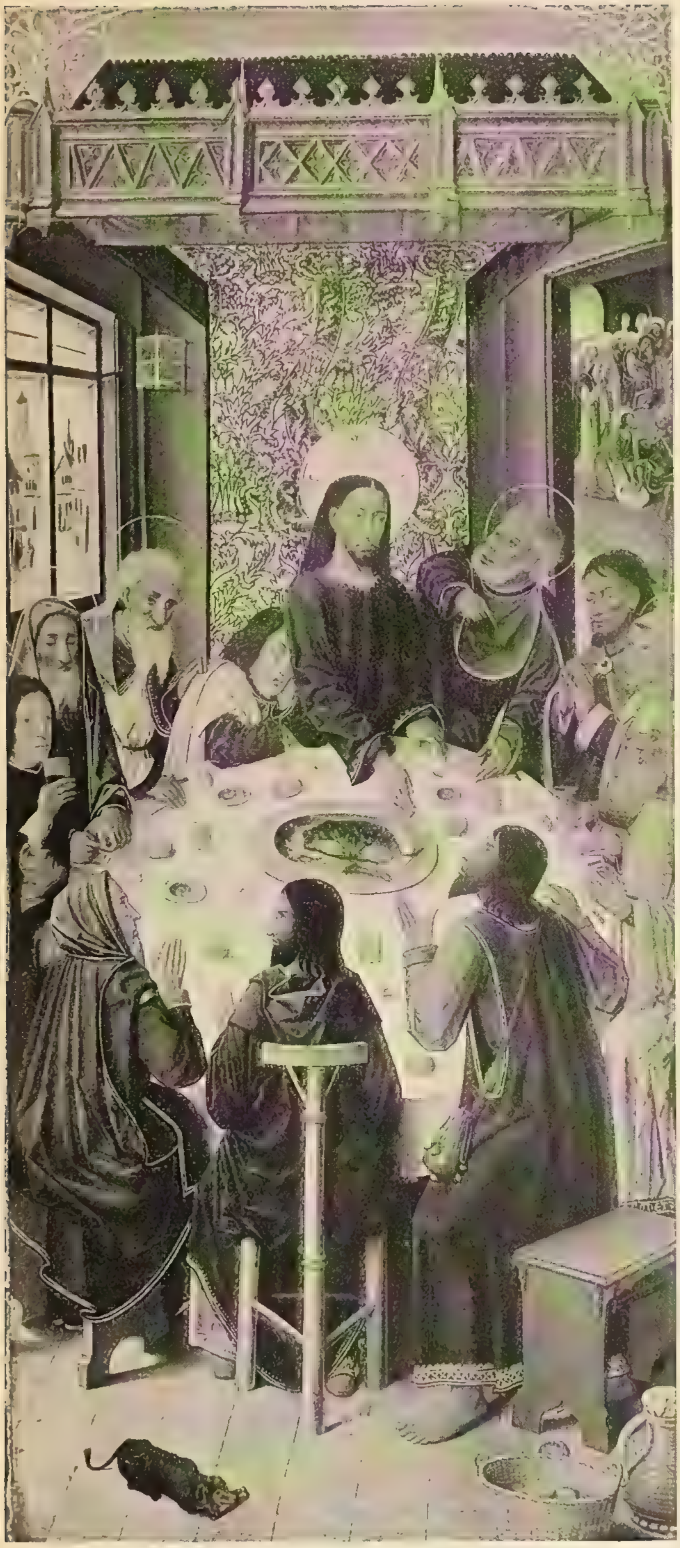
[1] Cf. Dobbert, *Repertorium*, vol. XVIII, pp. 370–73 ff.; Millet, *L'Iconographie*, pp. 292–93.

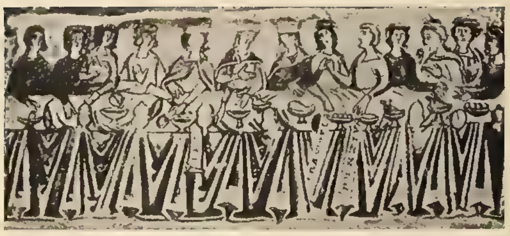
[2] From G. Vitzthum, *Die Pariser Miniaturmalerei*, Leipzig, 1907.

[3] From *Codex Vergili Romanus Picturae Ornamenta*, Rome, 1902.

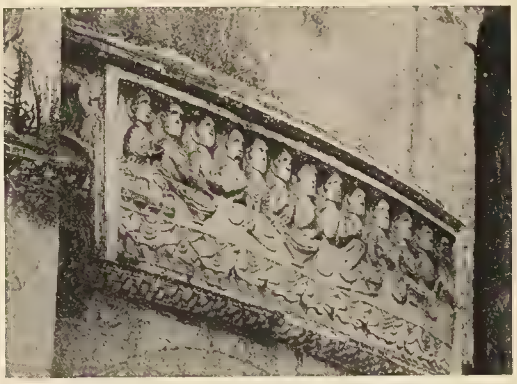
[4] Cf. Dobbert, *Repertorium*, vol. XIII, pp. 423–26; vol. XVIII, p. 338. Three figures appear on the sixth century ciborium of St. Mark's, Venice; four on the ivory book covers of Milan which are of the same period. Cf. Millet, p. 290; Baldwin-Smith, p. 137.



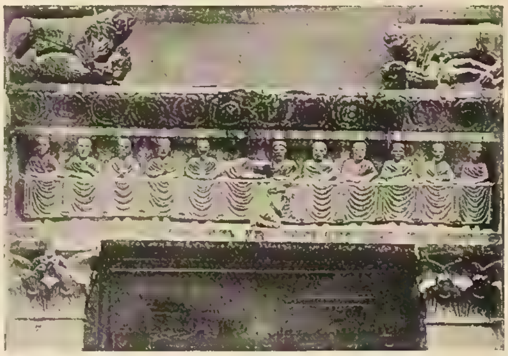
7. The Last Supper. School of Amiens.
Art Institute, Chicago



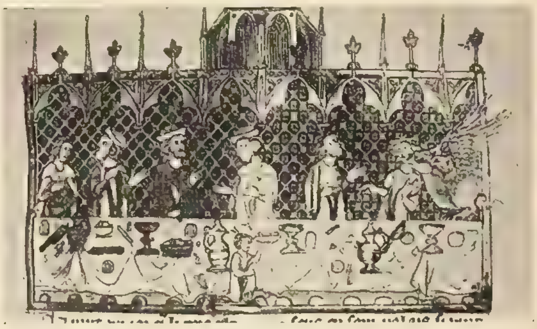
8. Arthur's Feast.
Parzival Manuscript, Munich



9. The Last Supper. Relief, Dax



10. The Last Supper. Frieze, Pistoia



11. Feast.
Alexander Manuscript, Paris

Psychomachia.[1] In this one figure stands with a chalice while Luxuria and three companions sit at a rounded table covered with a wavy white cloth and set forth with a knife, two round pieces of bread and a dish, which is precisely the shape of that which usually contains the fish in Last Supper scenes. By itself this scene might seem to prove nothing at all, but taken in conjunction with the ninth century representation of the Last Supper in the *St.-Médard Gospel* at Soissons, or the eleventh century one in Berlin,[2] instances in which in the one there are four, in the other six, people crowding around a round, white-covered table set with round pieces of bread, it would seem impossible to deny some relationship, especially as the table of ordinary usage,until a much later time than the eleventh century,was the removable trestle type of table with its straight board top.[3] This is not of course to deny that round tables actually existed in the eleventh century, but it is certain they were the exception for dining-table use rather than the rule. In any case it is hardly conceivable that they were carried along on military expeditions. Yet in my third example, the Bayeux "Tapestry" (Fig. 13), Bishop Odo's feast is represented as taking place at a round table spread with fish, with round pieces of bread, and served by one who kneels on the forward side of the table before a central figure whose hand is upraised in blessing. The likeness of this scene to the Last Supper in the Cambridge *Codex* (Fig. 14) is so close that it would almost seem a case of imitation, not of general influence. Historically the thing would not have been impossible since the *Codex*, whatever its original date,[4] was certainly at Cambridge from the ninth century and the embroidery, as Professor Roger S. Loomis has shown,[5] was the work of an Anglo-Saxon atelier and made at the instigation of Bishop Odo or his friends not long after the Conquest. As for the round table of Bishop Odo's feast it seems clear that art and not military actuality provided its model.

If the illustrations just given show the dominance of the Eucharistic round table set with bread in the form of Hosts, with wine chalice, with one or more symbolic fish, as the outstanding table pattern for secular scenes before 1100, it may even more safely be asserted that it was the outstanding pattern for illustrations of meal scenes in religious art. With the exception of those scenes in which the table serves as a kind of altar,[1] — and altars are regularly of rectangular shape, — the tables appearing in representations antedating the twelfth century, of the Feeding with Manna and Quail,[2] the Feast of Herod, the Multiplication of Loaves and Fishes,[3] the Marriage at Cana,[4] The Supper at Emmaus,[5] are of the round table type and commonly bear the usual symbolic setting, of which of course the symbolic fish is most important. From many possible examples I give but one, as illustrative as it is entertaining. In this (Fig. 15) Herod presides at the round table covered with a white cloth, beside which Salome dances and on which lie two Hosts and one fish. In later representations of this as of all the other meal scenes noted, the straight table replaces the round, as on the Hildesheim column (Fig. 16) and in the Munich manuscript (*Cod. Lat. 835*), which shows Salome dancing in front of the long straight table, stretching from one side of the picture to the other, and spread with cross-marked bread, with knives, and one fish.[6] Indeed it would seem that this change, from round table to

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[1] See the *British Museum Reproductions from Illuminated MSS.* Series I, 1907, from MS. *Cleopatra CVIII,* f.14; also Th. Wright, *History of Domestic Manners . . . in England* (1862), p. 25, Fig. 16. Another illustration given by Wright (p.24, Fig.15) from *Tiberius C.* VI, shows a similarly oval table with fluttering folds of table cloth and on it not only a cross-marked piece of bread but a fish. Three figures appear at the table.

[2] Cf. Dobbert *Repertorium,* vol. XVIII, p. 361, Fig. 60; Boinet, *La Miniature Caroling.* Pl. XXII, for this manuscript which was sent by Louis the Pious in 826 to the Abbey of St.-Médard, Soissons. For the Berlin Gospel, *Kupferstichcabinets,* Nr. 111, see Dobbert, *Repertorium,* vol. XVIII, p. 365, Fig. 61.

[3] The trestle type of table is clearly shown in several ivories dating from about 1100 (Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen,* vol. II, nr. 173*c* and *e*) and appears constantly in illuminations. The Old English word for eating table, *bord,* indicates its nature, a straight board laid on trestles, the whole being commonly removed at the conclusion of a meal. Cf. Wright, *op. cit.,* pp. 21–24, 42, 94.

[4] CCCC. 286. Cf. Dobbert, *Repertorium,* vol. XVIII, p. 334, Fig. 53; *Paleographical Soc.* Pl. 34. Dalton, *East Christian Art* (1925), p. 301, considers this a seventh century MS. M. R. James identified it as one of the Canterbury books. See his *Ancient Libraries of Canterbury,* p. lxvii.

[5] *The Origin and Date of the Bayeux Tapestry, Art Bulletin,* vol. VI, no. 1.

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[1] The rectangular altar-like table appears in the Old Testament types of the Eucharist: the Sacrifices of Abel, Melchizedek, and Abraham, or of Abel and Melchizedek, or of the Holy Three, the Angels entertained by Abraham. Cf. Lowrie, *Monuments of the Early Church* (1923), p. 317, Figs. 131, 132, 133. On p. 46 he speaks of "the primitive conception of the altar as the common table," an idea illustrated even in the Holy Three scene (Mosaic, S. Vitale, Ravenna) where the bare wooden table fulfills the function at once of dining-table and holy table. See below, p. 81, n. 3, and for further references to this scene, Tikkannen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, p. 205, n. 3. It seems impossible, however, to accept his idea "dass das Sitzen zu Tisch der ländlichen Gewohnheit, der Sitte der Armen entsprach," or to see in all meal scenes precisely the same character.

[2] Ancient art offers but few illustrations of this scene from Exodus XVI, 13–14, but it is found on the cypress wood doors of S. Sabina (fifth century), Rome, and amongst the Socinian mosaics of S. Maria Maggiore. Cf. J. Richter and A. C. Taylor, *The Golden Age of Classic Christian Art* (1904), pp. 388–89, and Lowrie, *op. cit.*, pp. 270–276, Fig. 106; Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. I, p. 258, Fig. 138. In each of the two panels of the S. Sabina doors, three people sit at the little round-topped table. Another illustration, this time of the Fish Meal of the Israelites before the Golden Calf, is in the Lipsanothek of Brescia. Cf. Dölger, *Der heilige Fisch* (1922), Taf. V, 2.

[3] A familiar subject in the art of the catacombs. Cf. Wilpert, *Le Pitture delle catacombe romane*, p. 269 ff. Baldwin-Smith (p. 133) notes that "in the third century the multiplication of the loaves without either the fish or the wine, had become the symbol of the Eucharist."

[4] Baldwin-Smith, p. 85, enumerates the four general types, the Hellenistic, the Alexandrian Coptic, the Palestinian Coptic, and the Byzantine, of representations of this scene. The table of the wedding feast appears only in the Byzantine type. With few exceptions this table is regularly represented as round until the twelfth century.

[5] Cf. the early eleventh century painting in the cathedral of Essen; P. Clemen, *Die romanischen Wandmalereien der Rheinland* (1905), Taf. 9.

[6] Fig. 13, from the so-called *Gospel of Otto III*, Munich, Hof-u. Staatsbibliothek, *Clm. 4453, Clm. 58;* Leidinger, *Miniaturen aus Hds. — in München*, vol. I, Pl. 28; reproduced in color by Pfister, *Mittelalterliche Buchmalerei* (1922), Pl. I, who also gives, Pl. 2, a colored reproduction of MS. *Cod. Lat. 835*.

Fig. 14, from the Hildesheim bronze column made before 1022. Cf. Beenken, *Roman. Skulptur in Deutschland* (1924), p. 12, Abb. 13; Luer u. Creutz, *Geschichte d. Metallkunst* (1904), p. 284, Fig. 213. Marignan's dating of this work in 1210–1220 (*Les Bronzes de Hildesheim*, Strassburg, 1914, p. 143 ff.) is demonstrably wrong, for his chief argument, i.e., from costume, is mistaken as comparison with almost any eleventh century work would show. On the date see also Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, p. 35.

Another illustration of the straight table in Herod's Feast is in a silver book-cover in the baptistery of Florence straight, took place somewhat earlier and more freely in such scenes than in actual representations of the Last Supper itself. For in certain manuscripts, the *Limoges Gospels*,[1] for example, the straight table appears in the Supper at Emmaus (Fig. 17), whereas the round table is preserved in the more important, and therefore, perhaps, more conservatively traditional scene of the Last Supper.

II. ROUND TABLE TYPES OF THE LAST SUPPER

Before attempting to define the period at which this significant divergence of the two types took place, it may be well to point out certain causative influences that affected each type. For each one in turn it would seem that custom and reality suggested the original pattern and this pattern persisted, especially in the round table type, for centuries and in places of widely different manners and customs. This may be shown concretely by a brief survey of the three principal forms in which the round table Last Suppers come down to us. These may be termed the Latin round table type; the Hellenistic sigma; and the Asiatic "ground" type.

The most distinctive table which appears in the earliest examples of Christian Roman art takes the form of the round-topped classical tripod with slender curved legs decorated with some design, usually of animal heads. It is seen in the catacomb of Callistus, in the third century painting[2] which shows a man, possibly Christ, blessing the bread and fish, symbolic of the Eucharist, which lie upon the table. Its pre-Christian prototype can be seen in Pompeian frescoes or in the bronze tables of Pompeii which have actually been recovered.[3] The same type of table reappears, possibly in consequence of the classical renaissance of the Carolingian period, in the Last Supper of the ninth century *Sacramentary of Drogo*[4] (Reims school), in

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which d'Agincourt (*Sculpture*, vol. II, Pl. XII) assigned to the tenth or eleventh century. For the straight tables in this scene as painted by Giotto and Pietro Lorenzetti, see Antal, *Jahrbuch f. Kunstwissenschaft* (1924–25), Abb. 3 and 4.

[1] MS. 101, *Catalogue of MSS in the Pierpont Morgan Library*, p. 150. See above, p. 78, n. 5. The Emmaus scene in the *Hortus Deliciarum* (Straub et Keller, Pl. 40) is an exact duplicate of the usual Byzantine Last Supper, with Christ at the left of the curtained sigma table set with fish and chalices. But in other scenes, Feast of Esther (Pl. XVIII), Feast of Solomon (Pl. 53*b*), etc., the straight table appears.

[2] Cf. Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. I, p. 36, Fig. 22; Lowrie, p. 223, Fig. 71; Baldwin-Smith, p. 135, Fig. 126, Catacomb of SS. Pietro e Marcellino. The last reference wrongly describes this fresco as showing "seven persons at a sigma shaped table (who) are about to partake of a fish on a tripod before them." As a matter of fact the people are lying on the ground with their arms resting on a semi-circular bolster. Immediately in front of them is the tripod and a man stands beside it.

[3] Dobbert, *Repertorium*, vol. XIV, p. 203, Fig. 25; Collignon, *Mélanges Boissier* (Paris, 1903), pp. 127–131; A. Mau, *Pompeii, Its Life and Art* (1899), Figs. 181, 183. These tripod tables were usually of bronze with bronze or marble tops. Others with legs of ivory had the beautifully grained citrus wood tops which brought fabulous prices and for which a genuine mania seems to have existed. Seneca is reported to have had five hundred of them. Cf. Friedländer, *Roman Life and Manners under the Early Empire*, vol. II, p. 203.

[4] For the *Drogo* MS see Dobbert, *Repertorium*, vol. XVIII, p. 350, Fig. 5; Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts*, p. 103. For other examples of tables of this type see Dobbert, *Repertorium*, vol. XVIII, p. 364, Fig. 1; p. 372,

numerous instances in the famous *Utrecht Psalter*[1] and elsewhere. In other instances of Latin origin simply the farther half of the table is represented, as in several catacomb paintings,[2] or in such an illumination as that of the Cambridge *Codex* (Fig. 14), which in this detail shows Latin influence. It can in truth be asserted, as Millet (p. 288) has done, that the Latins gave the round table to the iconography of the Last Supper. Whether the Orientals, as he also asserts (p. 298), had much to do with it is open to question.

The round table, even when it is made to appear oval through attempts at perspective or semi-circular through being cut off by the forward part of the picture, as in the instances just noticed, must be clearly distinguished from the Hellenistic sigma[3] which is found in practically all representations of the Last Supper produced under Asiatic influence. The sigma couch, the sigma table, are plainly seen in the Last Supper mosaic of S. Apollinare at Ravenna (Fig. 18) which shares with the *Rossano Gospels* and the *Sinope Fragment* the same peculiar technical device of representing the ends of the couch and the end of the table as three rectangular contiguous panels across the front of the picture.[4] This feature is distinctive of a period, the sixth century, rather than a long-continued type. In course of time the apostles were represented as sitting rather than lying about the table but its distinctive shape was kept, as in the twelfth century *Psalter*[5] *of Melissenda* (Fig. 19) and in other examples, especially of Greek manuscripts, of much later date. In general, the straight edge of the sigma table is represented in frontal position and a curtain on rings is fastened to this edge. A notable instance of this type is in the church at Toqale, oldest of the Cappadocian churches

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Fig. 7; p. 431, Fig. 13. Precisely the same type of table appears in Br. Mus. *Harl.* MS. 603; Wright, *History of Domestic Manners*, Fig. 24. Several examples in sculpture of the tripod table with its symbolic fish are given by F. Dölger, *Der Heilige Fisch im dem antiken Religionen u. im Christentum* (1922), Taf. LIII, LV, LVIII, LXIII.

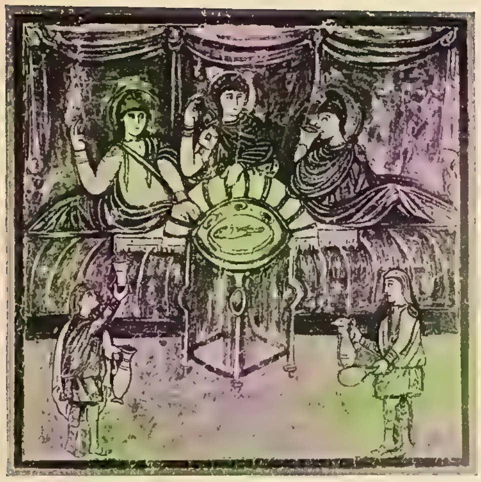
[1] Facsimile edition by Spencer, Sawyer, Bird (1873), illustrations to Psalms 17, 20, 21, 22, 40, 53, 54, 58, 103, 109. Tikkanen, *Die Psalterillustration im Mittelalter*, Bd. I, Hft. 3, p. 205, makes no mention of this very distinctive table type. He observes with surprise that despite the number of meal scenes represented in the Psalter, the sigma does not appear, nor the semi-circular bolster lying on the ground. Western custom is plainly indicated in the drawing of a few rectangular tables and especially of the tripod table with its carved legs.

[2] Wilpert, *Fractio Panis* (1895), Pl. III (Capella Greca); Wilpert, *Le pitture delle catacombe romane;* Lowrie, Figs. 73, 74.

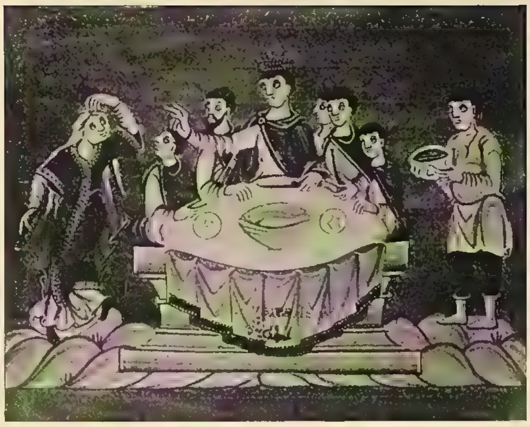
[3] The sigma table is often rather casually described as semi-circular. Confusion arises when the round table of Latin representations is also referred to as semi-circular. As has been pointed out it appears so from the fact that the picture begins as it were in the middle of the table. But this is a quite different thing from the sigma table, the end of which, as of the couch about it, is always plainly visible. The sigma "S. Paulin explique par sa conformité avec la lettre grecque C": Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, vol. IV, p. 1; Montfaucon, *Antiquité Expliquée*, vol. V, p. 112.

[4] Baldwin-Smith, pp. 135–138; Figs. 127, 128.

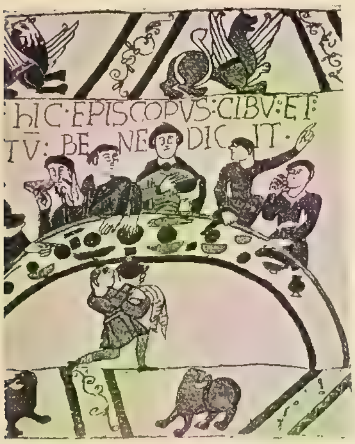
[5] British Museum, *Egerton 1139*. Cf. Herbert, *Illuminated Manuscripts* (1911), p. 57; illustration from Millet, p. 294, n. 5, Fig. 279. Cf. also *Exultet Roll* of Pisa, Rohault de Fleury, *Evangile*, vol. II, Pl. 74; doors of Benevento, Venturi, vol. III, p. 699, Fig. 648. Good eleventh century examples of the sigma table with couch ends showing and curtained table front and with most of the apostles lying about the table, are in the fresco of S. Angelo in Formis (Kraus, *Die Wandgemälde von S. Angelo, Sonderabdruck aus der J. d. k. pr. Kunstsammlungen*, 1893), and in the Psalter of London (Dobbert, *Jahrb. f. Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. IV, p. 315, Fig. 6).



12. Feast. *Virgil* Manuscript, Rome



15. Herod's Feast. *Gospel of Otto III*, Munich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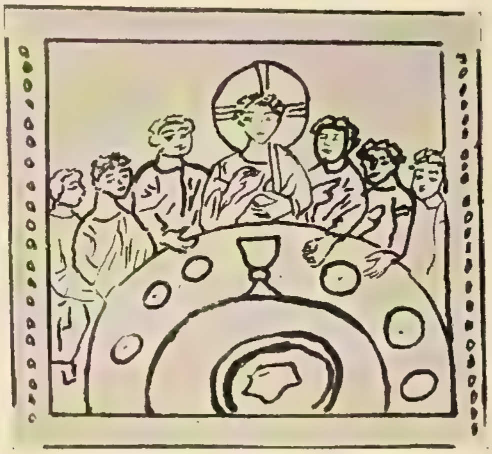
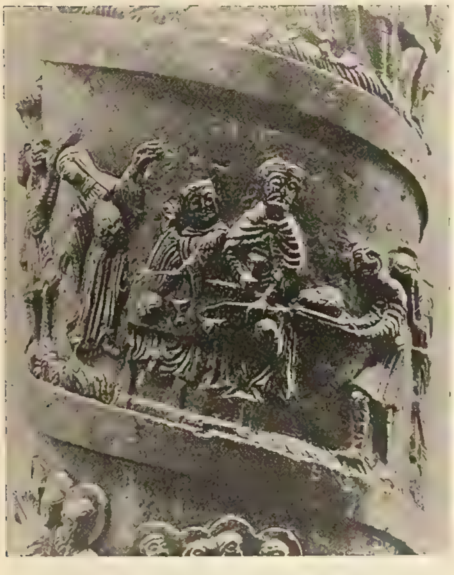
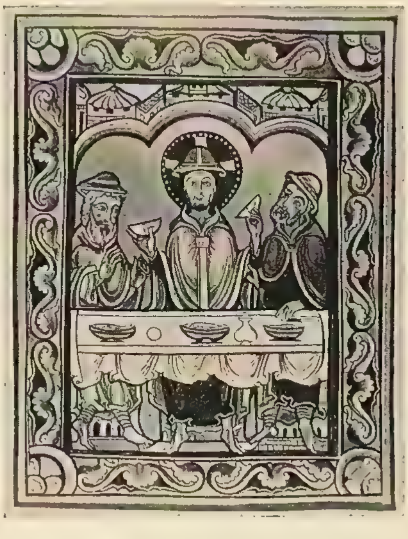
13. Bishop Odo's Feast. Bayeux Embroidery



14. The Last Supper. *Cambridge Gospels*



16. Herod's Feast. Hildesheim Column



17. The Supper at Emmaus. *Limoges Gospels*

in Gereme; here Christ appears at the left of the table.[1] An unusual lateral view of the table is shown in the Last Supper of the Cappadocian church of Ballyqklisse where Christ sits at the top of the curve of the table (Fig. 20).[2] Of special interest in this connection are the stone sigma tables still to be seen in the monastery of Lavra at Mount Athos [3] and also, according to Rott (p. 212), in a refectory near the Cappadocian church of the Ascension (Analipsiskirche). They prove the realistic character and continuous monastic use into modern times of these sigma tables.

The evidence just cited as to the original relation between art and reality in the round and sigma tables of ancient Last Suppers is of special interest as we turn to the third type, which for lack of a better name I have called the "ground" type. In this the partakers of the Eucharistic meal are represented as sitting or lying on the ground about a semi-circular bolster, and it was this type which Professor Baldwin-Smith [4] characterized as the Western type of banqueting scene. Now whatever the style of the artist who was representing such a scene as this, it is certain he was not representing a Western custom. Though the ancient Italian no less than his modern successor enjoyed eating out-of-doors, in antiquity he provided for such tastes by having his garden triclinium, where he certainly did not eat on the ground. Neither did the medieval European lie on the ground except, as to-day, on sporadic picnic-like occasions. Certainly a solemn feast of the type represented in European art of the Early Christian era was an altogether different thing. Whether in the possibly Mithraic frescoes (Fig. 21) of Vibia [5] on the Appian Way or in the Early Christian representations which show a small group of people [1] sitting or lying by a semi-circular bolster on the ground with a few dishes placed before them, the artist was in each case drawing on Eastern custom for his ultimate model. In the East, in Syria especially, sitting or lying on the ground about one or more large communal dishes was, and for that matter still is, an enjoyable custom. On this point the evidence of a living Syrian is better than archaeological conjecture. In his *Syrian Christ* (Boston, 1916) Mr. Rihbany says: "In Syria . . . men eat their fraternal feasts alone (apart from women). . . . They sit on the floor in something like a circle, and eat out of one or a few large, deep dishes." After pointing out that for purposes of intelligibility Leonardo (or better, his predecessors) presented an Oriental event in Occidental form, Mr. Rihbany notes: "The appointments of the Great Supper were genuinely Oriental. The Master and his disciples sat on the floor and ate out of one or a few large, deep dishes." These remarks may be verified in a number of instances, for instance, in the tenth century Cappadocian fresco[2] of the church at Toqale, in the scene of the Multiplication of the Loaves, six men are seen sitting on the ground about a low table containing two fish and five rounded pieces of bread. A large bowl rather than a table appears in an Emmaus scene (Fig. 22) in the ninth century ivory of Aachen.[3] In a twelfth century Syrian manuscript [4] and in those of the Saxon-Thuringian school (Fig. 23),[5] the apostles are frequently represented thus sitting in a circle on the ground, though the artist's fidelity to the model he was following was only too often greater than his skill. It cannot be doubted, however, that this model was inspired by Eastern custom and that this type of Last Supper need not be explained, as Haseloff tried to do, by reference to those circular compositions which depict the Coming of the Holy Ghost. In such scenes the apostles do not sit on the ground, and that, even more than their circular position, is the crux of the matter.

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[1] G. de Jerphanion, *Les Eglises Rupestres de Cappadoce* (1925), Pl. 65. In his article, *La date des Peintures de Toqale Kilisse en Cappadoce, Rev. Archéol.* (1912), vol. XX, pp. 236–254, he dates the frescoes as belonging to the time of Nicephorus Phocas (963–969) and refuses to consider that the Nicephorus whose name appears in inscriptions in the church might be Nicephorus Botaniate (1073–1081). This he does largely because of his belief that the church of Toqale was closely imitated, especially in the ordering and representation of its frescoes, in the not far distant church of Tchaouch. Since this last church has an inscription relating apparently to Nicephorus Phocas and must therefore be dated in the tenth century, M. de Jerphanion would argue that the church of Toqale must have been decorated in the first part of that century. In refuting Rott's interpretation (*Kleinasiatische Denkmäler*, p. 229) of the Toqale (Doghaliklisse) inscription as referring to Nicephorus I (802–811), he asks (p. 238) however: "Qui accepterait de placer aux environs de l'an 800 des peintures qui, de prime abord, paraissent plus récentes de plusieurs siècles?" Though it is impossible to argue the matter since so little material on the Cappadocian churches is as yet available, this impression of lateness in the frescoes to which M. de Jerphanion so honestly refers, seems more convincing than his labored argument from the inscriptions.

[2] From Rott, *op. cit.*, p. 131, Abb. 39.

[3] Shown in photographs by M. Millet and by Professor Kirsopp Lake of Harvard in his recent illustrated lecture on Mount Athos. These stone sigma tables are a little higher than the usually rectangular benches beside them.

It is perhaps worth noting that the sigma table also appears in the picture of the Holy Three Entertained by Abraham in the Tscharikliklisse, Gereme (Rott, p. 218, Abb. 76), the only instance that I know of this scene in which the rectangular altar-like table does not appear. But that altars, as well as tables, were sometimes given the sigma form, is proven by recent discoveries at Corinth and by the seventh century altar of Vienna cited by Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, vol. I, p. 164.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 138.

[5] Michel, *Histoire de l'Art* (1905), vol. I, p. 24, Fig. 16; Wilpert, *Die Malereien Katacomben Roms* (1903), p. 144 ff. Tav. 132.

III. The Straight Table Type of Last Supper

It has seemed necessary to make this survey of the round table types of Last Supper in order to emphasize the realistic contribution of both East and West in this particular detail and its extraordinary hold on pictorial

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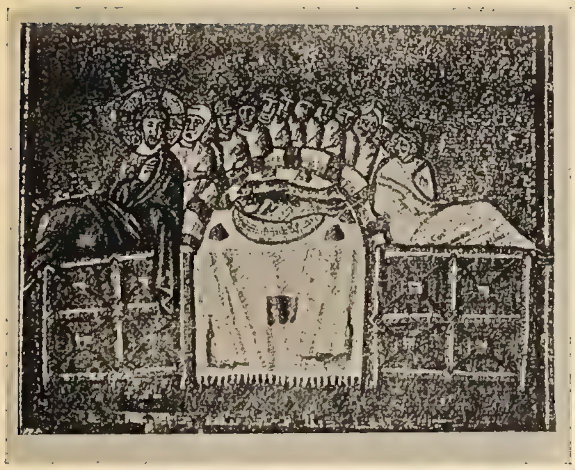
[1] Cf. Rohault de Fleury, *La Messe*, vol. IV, pp. 6–7, Pl. 256, 328; *L'Evangile*, vol. II, Pl. 69, Fig. 1: Dölger, *Der Heilige Fisch* (1922), Taf. XLII, 4; LVI, 1; LIX; LXI.

[2] De Jerphanion, *Les Eglises Rupestres de Cappadoce* (1925), Pl. 66, 2. On p. 47, n. 3, he speaks of the low tables still used by the peasants, who sit on the ground about them.

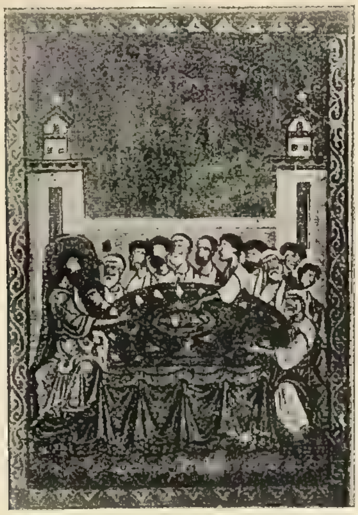
[3] From Goldschmidt, vol. I, no. 22*b*.

[4] Millet, p. 283, Fig. 283. He speaks of the arrangement of the apostles in a circle about a round table as an innovation observable in the tenth century in the West and says that in the eleventh it penetrated Byzantine iconography, perhaps through Cappadocia. This is precisely my own idea of what happened in representations of the straight table in the Last Suppers of the West and East.

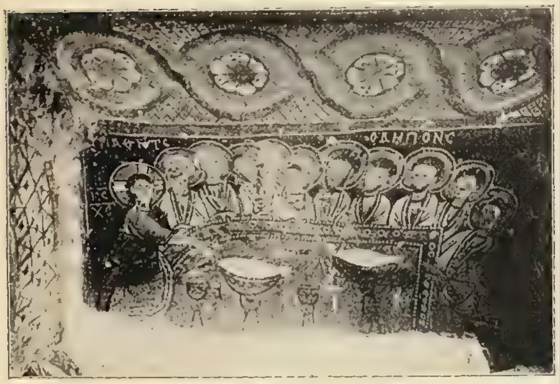
[5] Haseloff, *Thuring.-Sächs. Malerschule des 13 Jhds.*, Pl. XXXVII, no. 84; Psalter (*circa* 1225), Stadtbibl. In Serinio 85.



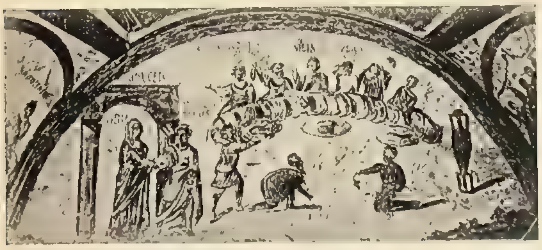
18. The Last Supper. Mosaic, Ravenna



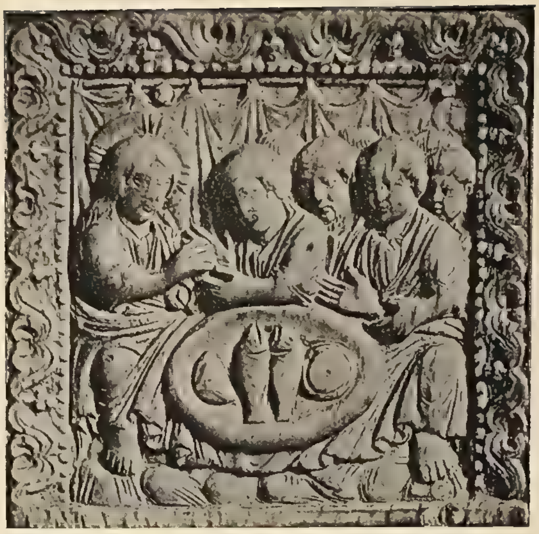
19. The Last Supper.
Psalter of Melissenda, London



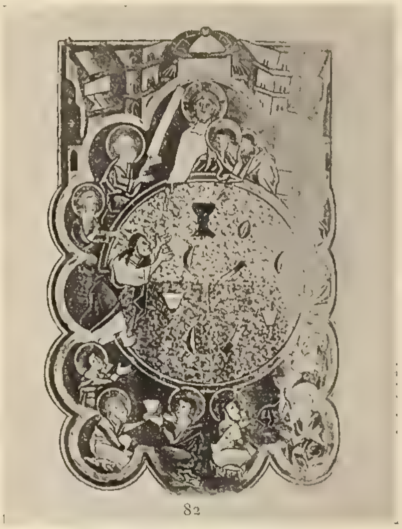
20. The Last Supper. Ballyqklisse, Soandere



21. Celestial Banquet. Fresco, Appian Way



22. The Supper at Emmaus. Ivory, Aachen



23. The Last Supper.
Psalter, Hamburg

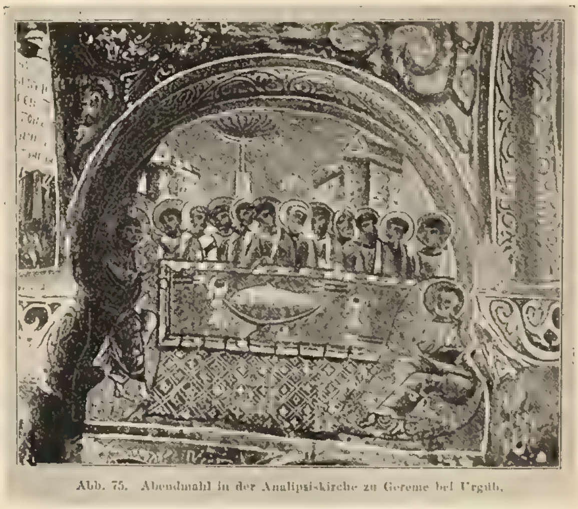


Abb. 75. Abendmahl in der Analipsiskirche zu Gereme bei Urgüb.

24. Analipsis Church. Gereme, Cappadocia

imagination. Against this background of almost eleven centuries the questions when and why the change to the straight table began assume an importance which at first glance could hardly be realized. But the answers to these questions are not easy. The difficulty comes largely from the uncertain character of certain examples and the very uncertain dating of others. The list which I subjoin is, as all such things must be, purely tentative, but also, it is hoped, one that will invite further investigation.

The earliest examples of the straight table type of Last Supper are the following:

NINTH CENTURY

(1) Gold relief book-cover, Rossi Collection, cited by Dobbert, *Repertorium,* vol. XVIII, p. 340, Fig. 55. Its authenticity was doubted by Grisar, *Étude Arch.* (Rome, 1855), whose work I have not seen; also by Millet (p. 301, n. 1). The heads of the apostles are represented along the sides of a rectangular space that suggests the top of a table. The head of Christ appears at the left end of the table. In the center space is a fish with a chalice in one fin, a Host in the other, an altogether exceptional detail. Dobbert was inclined to ascribe the work on account of its richness of material and its barbarousness of form to Langobardic art. So far as I know no parallel has ever been cited for this whole curious design but its essential idea is certainly to be found in the twelfth century *Hortus Deliciarum* (ed. Straub et Keller, 1901, Pl. XV). In this, together with the Ark, the seven-branched candlestick and other *Mobilier du Sacrifice,* is represented a rectangular table with richly carved legs. On it are drawn twenty-six heads. It is not impossible that this was the model for the supposedly earlier work of the Rossi collection.

TENTH CENTURY

(2) Analipsiskirche (Fig. 24), Gereme in Urgub, Cappadocia, from Rott (Abb. 75, p. 223), who dates this church in the tenth century. But he describes it (p. 214) as being divided by columns, a characteristic according to de Jerphanion (*Les Eglises Rupestres,* p. 66), of the later, not the most ancient, churches of Gereme. Moreover this straight table in the Last Supper scene contrasts with the sigma table which de Jerphanion (in his chapter on *Les Décorations Archaïques,* p. 86) describes as the characteristic archaic form. It would seem that Rott's dating of this church is open to question; also that Millet's assertion (*L'Iconographie,* p. 296) that the rectangular table came from Cappadocia is in need of some qualification. It is true that a rectangular table appears in the Cana scene of the oldest Toqale frescoes (de Jerphanion, p. 280, Pl. 65) but not in the Last Suppers of the oldest type (Toqale, de Jerphanion, Pl. 49), a distinction of real importance since, as was noted above, we find it persisting even in twelfth century examples. Though Millet (p. 296) says the rectangular table appears in paintings in the churches of Ballyqklisse, Elmale, Tchareqle, it is not clear that he means in Last Supper scenes; in fact Rott's reproduction of the Last Supper with its sigma table from Ballyqklisse (here Fig. 20) would suggest the contrary. Moreover the church of Ballyqklisse is described by Rott (p. 126), and the churches of Elmale and Tchareqle by de Jerphanion (p. 66), as churches with columns, and so presumably of later date than the tenth century.

TENTH OR ELEVENTH CENTURY

(3) Antiphonary, St. Gall (*Cod. 390*). In this manuscript, copied according to Merton (*Die Buchmalerei in St. Gall,* 1912, p. 69, Taf. LXVIII) between 986 and 1017, is a Last

Supper in which no table appears, but only a long, narrow cloth drawn across the knees of the apostles. Dobbert (vol. XVIII, p. 359), who first cited this instance, thought the illuminator had been chiefly inspired by some Byzantine picture of the ritualistic Communion of the Apostles.

(4) *Circa* 1000. Holy Water Bucket (Fig. 25), Pierpont Morgan Collection, Metropolitan Museum, New York (from Goldschmidt, vol. II, no. 71*b*). This ivory was formerly in the church of Cranenburg, near Cleves (cf. Dobbert, *Repertorium*, vol. XVIII, p. 370). Goldschmidt (p. 33) connects this ivory with the school of Metz. It is to be noticed that the top of the table is so represented that the chalices appear to be standing against rather than on it. The same peculiarity is to be seen in the Feast of Herod on the Hildesheim column and in numbers 5, 6, 7, 9, below.

(5) Ivory casket (Fig. 26), Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Goldschmidt (vol. II, no. 83*a*, p. 36) thinks this of Saxon origin. The chalices, etc., are here distinctly represented against the falling folds of the table cloth.

(6) Ivory comb of Saxon origin, Essen Cathedral. (Goldschmidt, vol. II, no. 84*a*, p. 36).

ELEVENTH CENTURY, FIRST HALF

(7) 1011–1014. *St. Bernward's Gospel* (Fig. 27), Hildesheim, from Beissel, *Des hl. Bernwards Evangelienbuch* (1894, p. 65, Taf. XVIII), cited by Dobbert (*Repertorium*, vol. XVIII, p. 365). This composition is more nearly repeated on the Volterra pulpit (Fig. 28 from Porter's *Romanesque Sculpture*, Ill. 194), than anywhere else. Close to it is the thirteenth century mosaic in St. Mark's, Venice (Alinari photograph, 32417), but in this Judas is represented with the other apostles on the farther side of the table, and an apostle is seated at the right end of the table. See also baptistery of Florence (Venturi, vol. V, p. 225, Fig. 184, cited by Millet, p. 292, n. 9).

(8) *Circa* 1030. Bronze doors of S. Zeno, Verona. (Cf. Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. III, pp. 535–37, Pl. 231, Fig. 1).

(9) Before 1046. *Echternach Gospel*, Stadtbibl., Bremen. (Dobbert, *Repertorium*, vol. XVIII, p. 366, Fig. 63; Millet, p. 300, n. 5).

ELEVENTH CENTURY, SECOND HALF

(10) Ivory book-cover, Wallerstein Collection, Maihingen. (Goldschmidt, vol. II, no. 77, p. 35).

(11) Ivory book-cover, Strassburg. (Goldschmidt, vol. II, no. 78).

(12) Portable Altar, Melk. (Goldschmidt, vol. II, no. 194*d*, p. 9).

(13) 1086. *Vysihrad Codex* (Fig. 29) or *Coronation Book of King Wratislaw*, Prague. Lehner (*Bohemian School of Painting of the XI Century*, Bohemian text with abridged translation by J. Mawrek, 1902), has established the date of this splendidly decorated Gospel and the probability that it was the work of the artist monk, Bozetech, who later became abbot of the Benedictine monastery on the Sazawa, which, according to Lehner, became widely known for its artistic activity. Lehner's work disposes of Swarzenski's attempt (*Die Regensburger Buchmalerei*, p. 65) to date this work in the tenth century, and of the belief of both Beissel (*Bernward*, pp. 23, 65) and of Dobbert (*Repertorium*, vol. XVIII, p. 366) that it emanated from Regensburg. Lehner's reproduction of the illuminations of the *Codex* likewise disposes of many wrong conceptions concerning them. Figs. 27 and 29 show little resemblance to each other in composition or detail with the single exception that each Last Supper presents a straight table.

(14) The chalice of Dubrawka at Trzemeszno, mentioned by Beissel (*Bernward*, p. 17, n. 2), cannot be of the tenth century, as he asserts, since it was given by the Bohemian

princess, daughter of Wratislaw, to this church. According to Wocel (*Miniaturen aus Böhmen, Mittheil. d. k. k. Central-Comm.*, vol. V, p. 17), who describes the *Coronation Book*, there is so close a relationship between the miniatures and the carving on the ivory that it points to a local origin.

(15) *Circa* 1095. Arca of San Millán de la Cogolla, Logroño (Fig. 30), from Porter (*Romanesque Sculpture*, p. 37 ff., Ill. 661), who thinks this ivory carving of essentially Spanish character but showing some German influence. The arrangement of bread, knives, and fish on a low secondary table seems a definite attempt to overcome the unrealistic placing of the table appointments in the examples cited above under No. 4. That these were inspired by some early manuscript model, possibly of Regensburg, is suggested by the Last Supper (Fig. 31) of Meister Bertolt in the twelfth century Pericope now in the library of St. Peter's, Salzburg, or else we must believe that the illumination in this detail (i.e., the placing of the chalice and the fish bowl against the falling folds of the table cloth), was influenced by the ivories.

(16) Fresco in S. Urbano alla Caffarella, near Rome, represents Christ standing at the right end of a long straight table; John on his right, leans toward Him; Judas, unnimbed, lies on the ground on the forward side of the table. This painting was dated by Seroux d'Agincourt (*Histoire de l'Art, Peinture*, vol. III, Pl. XCV) in the eleventh century and considered by him to be the work of Greek artists in Rome. But as Dobbert (*Jahrb. f. Kunstwissenschaft*, vol. IV, p. 322) pointed out, in disagreement with him and with H. Riegel (*Über die Darstellung des Abendmahles besonders in der toscanischen Kunst*, 1869, p. 10) this would be altogether exceptional as the Greek artists regularly represented the sigma table in this scene. Dobbert thought the fresco unquestionably of Western origin.

(17) The relief on the porch door of St.-Germain-des-Prés, Paris, shows Christ as the central figure, John at his right, leaning so far forward that his head rests on the table; Judas, unnimbed and holding a chalice, kneels a little to the left of Christ, on the forward side of the long table which is covered with a cloth falling in wide, heavy folds. This relief was likewise ascribed by D'Agincourt (*Sculpture*, Pl. XXIX, no. 10) to the eleventh century, though the vigorous power and style of the composition would make this seem doubtful.

(18) Ivory casket, Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin. Goldschmidt (vol II, no. 173*e*, p. 51), dubiously describes this as "Frankisch" and assigns it to a date about 1100. In this Christ sits at the right hand end of an undraped trestle table. Six apostles sit at the farther side of the table.

(19) Late eleventh or twelfth century. Relief from S. Bassano, Lodi Vecchio, now in Duomo, Lodi. (Venturi, *Storia dell 'arte*, vol. III, p. 128, Fig. 111; see also Porter, *Lombard Architecture*, vol. II, pp. 490–499). The figures in this Last Supper are notably rigid, automaton-like. Essentially the same design is repeated in the Last Supper relief, with its standing figures, in the cathedral of Modena (Venturi, vol. III, p. 261, Fig. 251; Porter, vol. III, p. 46) and in the Last Supper frieze of Beaucaire (Porter, *Romanesque Sculpture*, Ill. 1294) with its sitting figures. In the Modena and Beaucaire reliefs the figures of Christ, Judas, and John are identical in position, both John and Judas being at the right of Christ, who reaches the sop to Judas above the bent figure of John. This same design appears in the abbreviated Last Supper painted on the ceiling, presumably early in the twelfth century, of the church at Zillis, canton of Grisons, Switzerland (Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. II, p. 407, Fig. 289). The straight table has a draped table cloth and is spread with Hosts, knives, and two fishes in bowls.

Twelfth Century

In the twelfth century, examples of the straight table type of Last Supper become too frequent and too stereotyped to call for complete enumeration.[1] The great preponderance of examples in stone sculpture and their comparative rarity in illuminations suggests, however, that it was the popularity of this type in sculpture, which itself became so dominant an art in the twelfth century, that determined its adoption in other media of artistic expression. Though the obverse is commonly true in that Romanesque sculpture borrows so much in the way of stylistic detail from manuscript illumination,[2] still in this matter of what might almost be called an architectural composition, painting seems to have been inspired by sculpture. The straight table type of Last Supper was peculiarly fitted for lintel or tympanum space, as shown by the illustrations from Pistoia (Fig. 10) or Dijon (Fig. 32), and in such form almost universal use was made of it. Indeed in such an example as the *Missal*[3] *of St. Mawr* (Paris, Bibl. Nat., *Lat. 12054*) the gigantic central figure of Christ towering over the diminutive apostles about Him strongly suggests the great sculptured Christs in Glory, even as the figure of Judas kneeling in front of the long, straight table, and the whole composition in fact, suggests comparison with the favorite pattern of Romanesque art for the Last Supper.

The various instances just cited of the earliest examples of the straight table type of Last Supper show practically the same differences that may be observed in the composition of the older, the round table type. That tradition, not merely artistic volition, controlled the pattern even in the eleventh century and later, is suggested by the not uncommon appearance of Christ at the left end of the table, which may be interpreted as a clear preservation of the old place of honor at the sigma table (examples 2, Fig. 24; 7, Fig. 27); and second, Christ in the central position, either in the act of instituting the Eucharist (examples 4, Fig. 25; 6), or more commonly in the act of announcing his betrayal and of giving the sop to Judas. In these last instances Judas is represented sitting or standing with the other apostles behind the table (example 2, Fig. 25; examples 3; 6; 9; 10; 11; 19); or standing, sitting, or kneeling, alone in front of the middle portion of the table (examples 8; 12; 13, Fig. 29; 14; 15, Fig. 30; 17). In example 7, Fig. 28, and example 11, he is at the left end of the table; in example 16, he lies on the ground at the right. John appears, bending toward Jesus, or reclining on his breast, or held in

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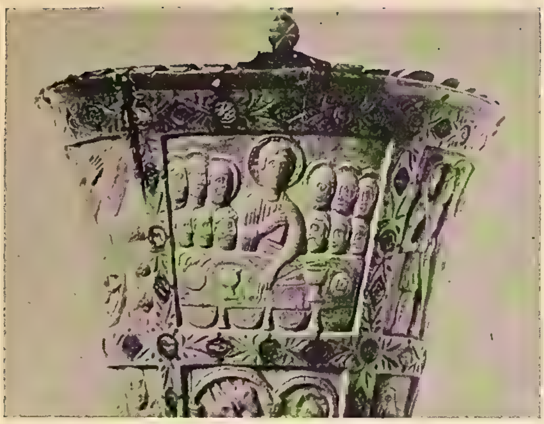
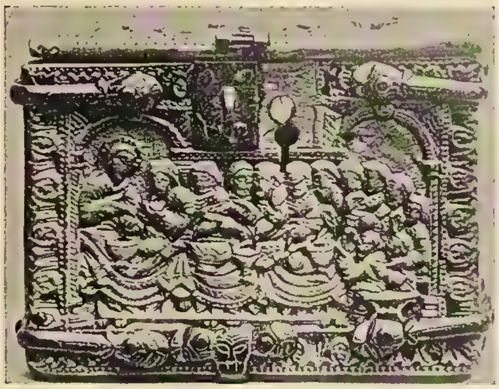
[1] See above, n. 14. The instances given by Porter are all of the twelfth century with the exception of the Last Suppers given on Ill. 174, 194, 875. See also G. von Lücken, *Burgundische Skulpturen des XI u. XII Jhds.* (*Jahrb. f. Kunstwissenschaft*, 1923, pp. 103–124) for slightly different dating of some of these examples, especially of Dijon, which he dates (p. 122) between 1188 and 1204; Porter (p. 117), between 1137 and 1145; Mâle, *L'Art Religieux du XIIe Siècle*, p. 419: "Le tympan, qui décorait autrefois une des portes de l'abbaye Saint-Bénigne de Dijon (aujourd'hui au musée archéologique de Dijon), nous offre une des plus anciennes représentations de ce sujet dans l'art monumental." Mâle's illustration (Fig. 243) of the Last Supper on the lintel of the church of Champagne in the Ardèche should be noted; also Porter's illustration of the Last Supper on the lintel at Condrieu, Rhône (Figs. 4, 5, 6, *Art in America*, 1925, pp. 117–129) which he would date about 1160 and derive from that at St.-Gilles, about 1140.

[2] Morey, *Romanesque Sculpture, Architecture* (1920), p. 4 ff.

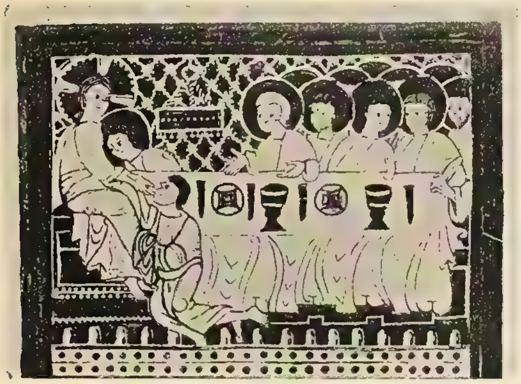
[3] Rohault de Fleury, *L'Evangile*, vol. II, Pl. LXXIV.



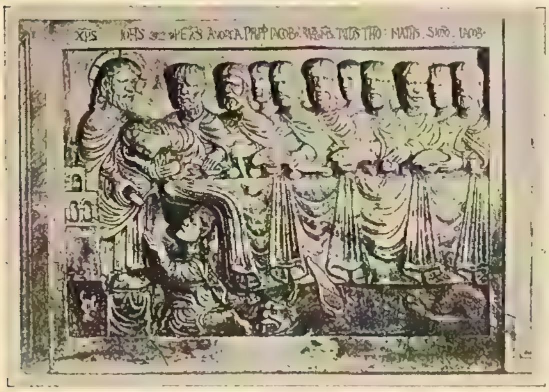
25. Holy Water Bucket.
Metropolitan Museum, New York



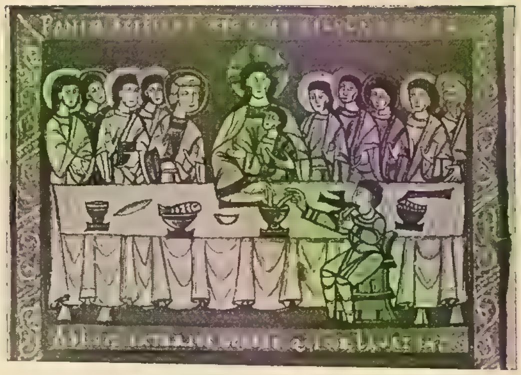
26. Ivory Chest.
Victoria and Albert Museum, London



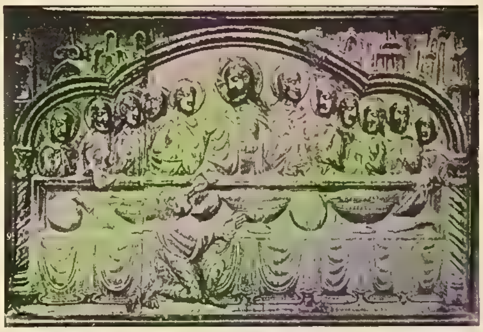
27. *Gospel of St. Bernward.* Hildesheim



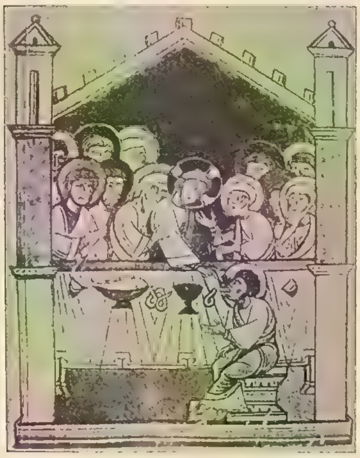
28. Pulpit, Volterra



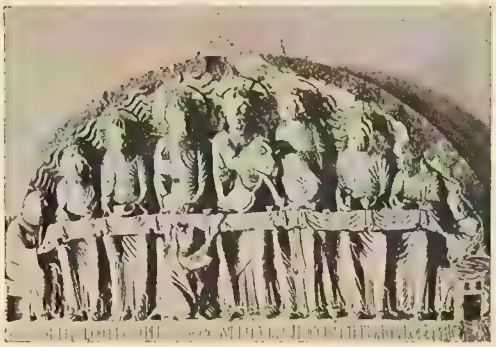
29. *Vysihrad Gospels*, Prague



30. Arca. San Millán de la Cogolla,
Logroño



31. Pericope.
St. Peter's, Salzburg



32. Tympanum, Dijon

his embrace, in examples 2, Fig. 23; 5, Fig. 27; example 7, Fig. 28; 8; 9; 11; 13; 17; 19.

The dignity and power of the design with Christ the central figure among those grouped on the farther side of the long straight table, was evidently recognized in the eleventh century when it was used occasionally by illuminators and ivory carvers, and in the twelfth century, through the constant use of it by sculptors in stone, it became the dominant type. By the middle of the twelfth century rare indeed was the Western painter or sculptor who did not copy its finely balanced and beautiful design.

The reasons for the change that led to such notable results were probably two. For one thing the familiar table of ordinary usage throughout the Middle Ages was the straight board table, and the influence of custom upon representation is of course ultimately inescapable. This, it is probable, was the primary reason for the change. Another reason was the very great difficulty of representing in plastic art twelve men about a round table. A glance at two ivories of the ninth and tenth centuries in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum [1] in Berlin shows one carver struggling desperately with this problem and another partially solving it by putting the apostles in two rows and leaving only three figures at the small round Eucharistic table. The growing importance of work in ivory, metal, and stone in the eleventh century, the natural unfitness of these materials for representing any of the old round table type of Last Supper, must, I think, more truly explain certain instances of the straight table type than does the possible influence of such illuminations as that shown in *St. Bernward's Gospel.* Indeed, it seems more reasonable to suppose that this was itself influenced by the straight table scenes [2] represented in metal on the Hildesheim column (Fig. 16) than that the illuminator, from no pressure of artistic necessity, made so striking a change.

The final question of this inquiry, whether the straight table came from the East or West into the iconography of the Last Supper, must in the present uncertain knowledge of the true dating of the Cappadocian churches, remain unanswered. But to assume the priority of the Last Supper in the Analipsis Church at Gereme over that in *St. Bernward's Gospel* or the ivories here given (Figs. 25 and 26) is extremely hazardous. It is altogether unnecessary to assume that the three examples cited by Millet (p. 296, n. 5) of pictured straight tables in Cappadocian churches are proto-types for the West. The almost universal use of the straight table in the West would be a far more natural reason for its appearance in Western art. Since for many centuries after the tenth neither Eastern custom nor Eastern art made use of the straight table but preserved in monastic and secular use the sigma table or the low round taboret or the custom of sitting on the floor in a circle about one or more communal dishes, it is possible to raise the question whether the straight table when it appears in Cappadocian churches is not indicative of Western influence. In any case, so far as this detail is concerned, it is no longer necessary to consider as Italian replicas of the Cappadocian type the thirteenth century examples cited by Millet, the fresco of Santa Maria ad Cryptas,[1] the pulpit of Volterra, the ancient crucifix of the Museo Civico of Pisa,[2] or the so-called "Byzantine composition" of the mosaic in St. Mark's,[3] or the fourteenth century paintings in the Brontochion Chapel. These are the only examples cited by Millet (p. 296) as having the rectangular table. They are few and late in comparison with the seventeen examples cited here from the eleventh century.

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[1] Goldschmidt, vol. I, No. 76, 124; also *Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass.* (1926), p. 783, Figs. 7 and 8.

[2] The Hildesheim column, of which there is a facsimile reproduction in the Germanic Museum of Harvard University, shows not only the Feast of Herod but also the Marriage in Cana and the scene in the House of Simon where Mary Magdalen anointed the feet of Jesus. The last scene likewise appears on the great baptismal font of Hildesheim, a reproduction of which is also to be found in the Germanic Museum. In all these instances the table is straight and its top represented with the same lack of perspective we have already noted.

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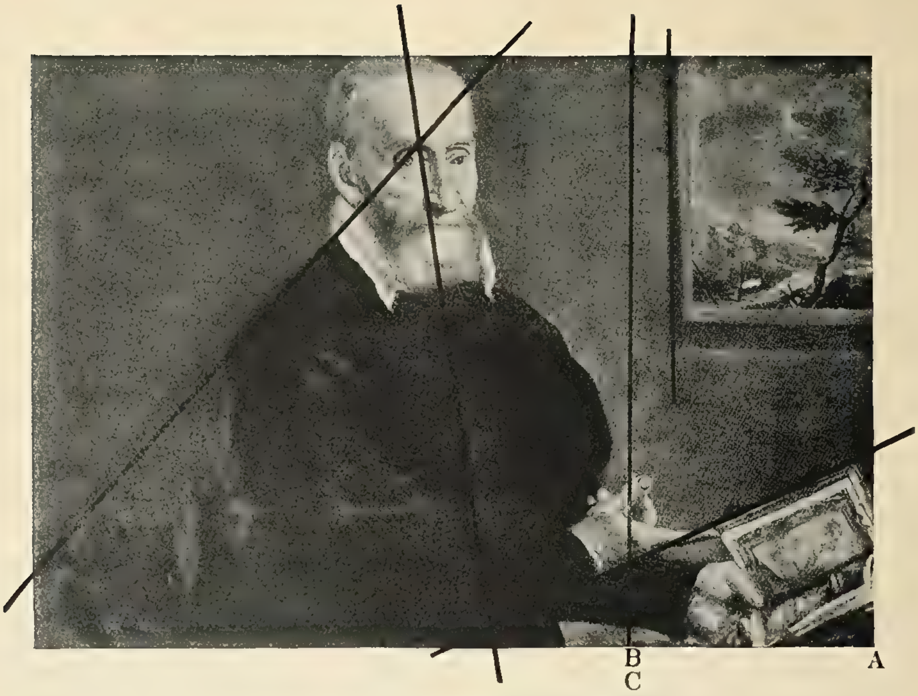
[1] Bertaux, *L'Art dans l'Italie Méridionale* (1904), p. 297, Fig. 115. In this Christ and John, both at the left, end the row of figures on the farther side of the table; Judas, with covered hands upraised, stands in front.

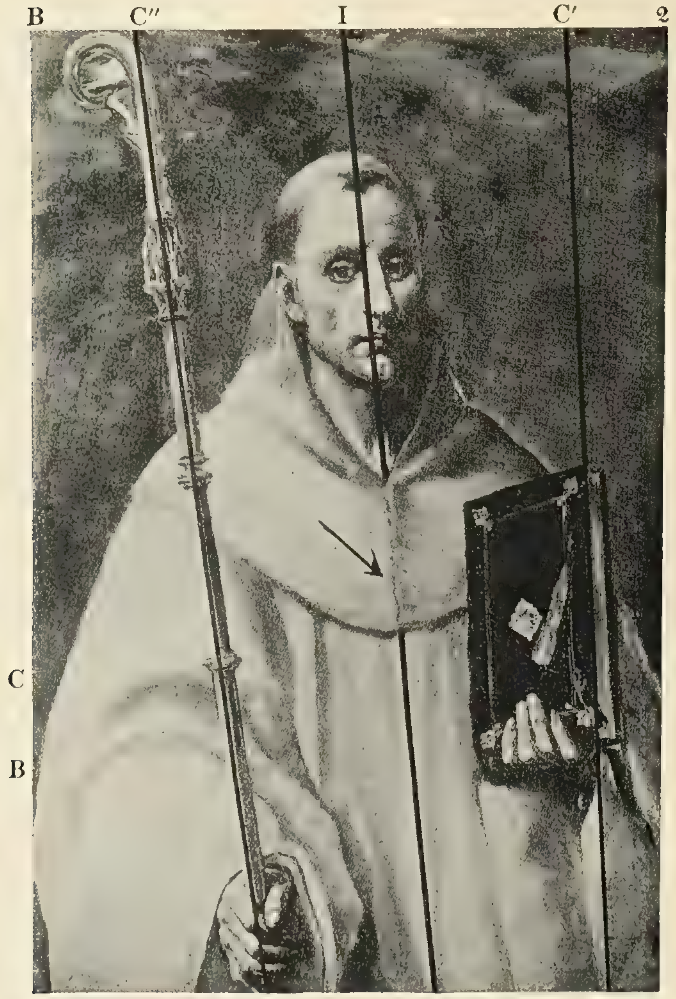
[2] Venturi, *Storia dell 'arte italiana*, vol. V, p. 15, Fig. 11. Christ stands in the center at the long table. Judas does not appear in front.

[3] See above, example 7.

THE GEOMETRY OF THE ART OF EL GRECO



1. El Greco. Portrait of Giulio Clovio


B
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C′
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C
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2. El Greco. San Bernardo. Paris, Collection of M. Cheramy

THE GEOMETRY OF THE ART OF EL GRECO

By JERE ABBOTT

The apparently well disguised exacting balance of the composition of El Greco has been frequently remarked, but in the main, criticism has more often treated and stressed the astonishing freedom, the flame-like rush of figures about the canvas, the almost distracting play of light, all the outstanding features which so impress one when he stands before the work of this artist. But beneath the surface of these dynamically pictured scenes lies an ordered framework to which the composition so closely adheres as to be, in many cases, almost startling. This severe schematization, probably surpassing that of any other Renaissance painter, will be the subject of this discussion.[1]

Before plunging into the technicalities of the problem, which are, as a matter of fact, so simple that they need not be in the least alarming, it will be necessary to break the ground with a few statements regarding schematization, in general.

The words, "organization," "balance," "schematization," are meaningless without some limiting adjective. To say that a picture shows balance, that it is organized, that, even, it is schematic, is far different from saying that it has a groundwork of exact geometrical composition and, what is most important, that it follows this ground plan with practically no subtle variation. Nor would there be any contradiction to the opinion that the masters of the Renaissance felt consciously, in a general way, the proportions of their canvases and regulated their compositions accordingly, — surely that is the essence of the fine art at which they worked, but can we say that they derived their internal measurements as direct and exact functions of the outside proportions of their pictures and adhered closely to these measurements? That throws a limitation on the question which may entirely change its nature. What we shall endeavor to show in the discussion which is to follow can be resolved, then, into two main theories (it is true that they have attendant propositions, but these need not be stated to bother and confuse us at this point), first, that the compositions of Greco's later style are worked out on geometrical frameworks, and, secondly, that the measurements and proportions of the composition bear *exact functional relations* to the size of the picture. The word "exact" is here highly important.

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[1] Sava Popotitch, *Conception of Space in Old Masters, Burlington Magazine* (1924), vol. XLIV, p. 22. In this critical and extremely interesting article the writer points out the fact that the old masters conceived space in the form of a geometrical solid, — the cube in architecture and the metacube in painting. He then discusses the metacubical composition of Greco's Purification of the Temple. While the views which I intend to put forth are not, in the broadest sense, in conflict with Popovitch's highly technical theory, they suggest a more simple and direct schematization. See further: H. S. Williamson, *The Two-Dimensional Art of Painting, Burl. Mag.*, (1924), vol. XLV, p. 22; D. von Hadeln, *Originals and Replicas from Tintoretto's Studio, Burl. Mag.*, vol. XLIII, p. 286; A. Ames, Jr., *Depth in Pictorial Art, Art Bulletin*, vol. VIII, no. 1 (Sept., 1925); *Journ. Opt. Soc. of Am.*, vol. X, no. 2, p. 137.

In the early compositions of Dominico one is not conscious of any marked schematization and it might be added that throughout his whole work this schematization does not appear readily unless the eye, through training, has learned what to look for. There is the balanced formality of the Italian masters in the Dresden Healing of the Blind, but again, in the delightful little early Annunciation, scant care has been given to such a matter as correct perspective, nor does this quality of exact arrangement impose itself in that splendid early portrait of Giulio Clovio (Fig. 1).

The *Espolio* and the Saint Maurice show a certain parallelism of line, a characteristic Greco habit of vertical division of the picture, and in the Saint Maurice that curious mannerism of lateral high lights which pass in parallel fashion over the surface of the whole painting from one side to the other. But we must be warned by these complicated compositions that it would be possible, by so choosing our method of attack, to find many systems, so multitudinous are the details of these pictures, and for this reason we have selected three out of a large number of pictures analyzed, by which to show simply and without complication the problem involved — the San Bernardo, the Louvre Crucifixion, and the Ascension.

Greco used for his interior measurements, curvilinear, linear and angular, exact functions of the length and breadth of his canvas. Consider for a moment Diagram 1; A D E F is any sized composition. If we cut the line DA with the extremity of EF (point F) by swinging it downward about E as its center, B will represent the point of intersection on DA. Likewise point E with D as a center swung downward upon DA will intersect it at C. Thus will be defined two segments, AB and AC. BC will represent the difference in length of these two segments. It will now be seen that AB and AC are functions of the length and breadth of the composition and will vary with the area of the composition. For convenience, and unless otherwise stated, the letters A, B, and C will be used, as above, to designate these distances which will be assumed, in each new case, to have always been determined in the manner just described. In our following discussion we shall hope to show that Greco in his paintings adheres to these measurements with a precision almost uncanny and that, after all, the freedom of his compositions is a disguised freedom which throws off its disguise when once the geometrics of the groundwork have been ferreted out.

Let us now apply this theory in its simplest case, that of a composition

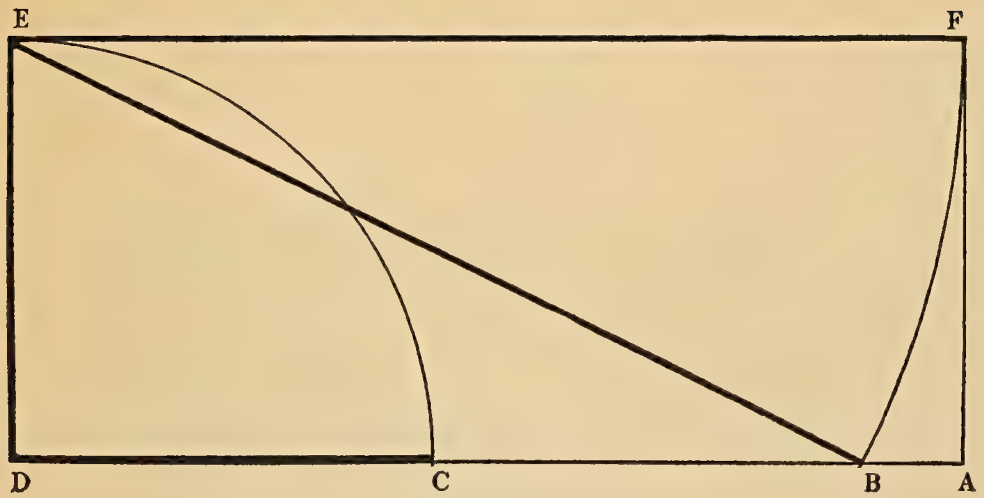
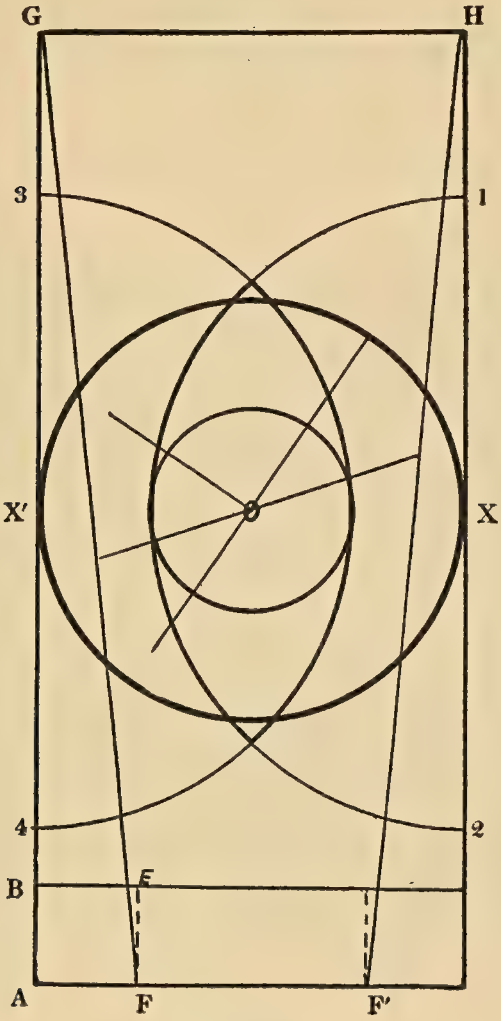


Diagram 1


G
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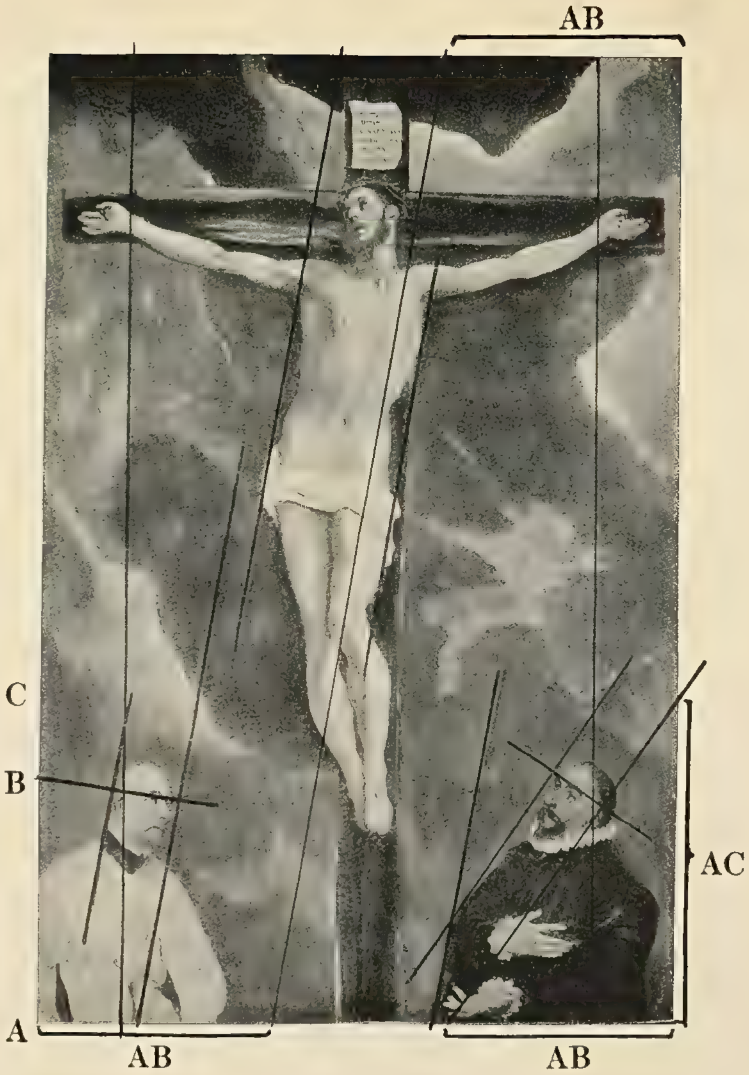
1
X′
O
X
4
2
B
E
A
F
F′

Diagram 2

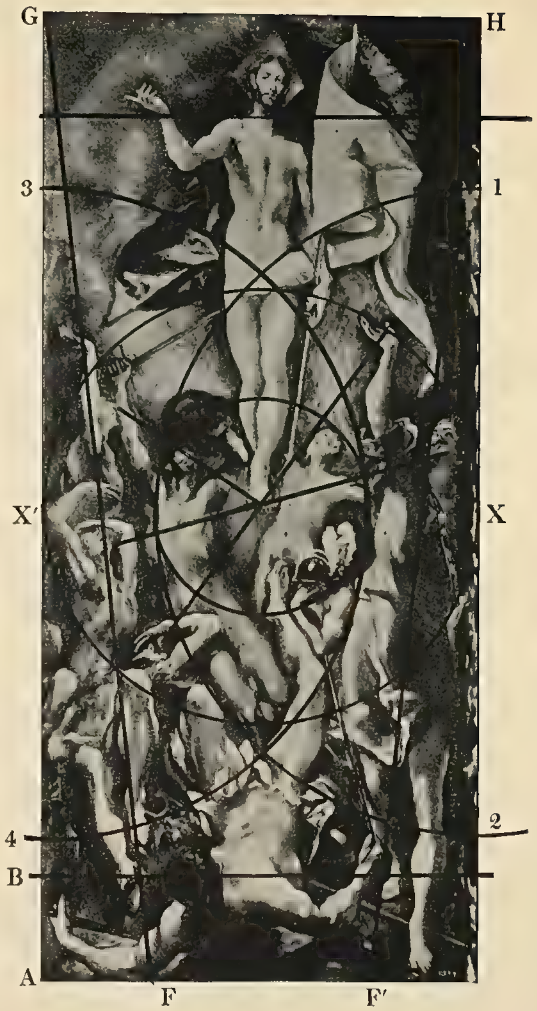
with a single figure. This is most strikingly shown in the painting of San Bernardo in the collection of M. Cheramy, in Paris (Fig. 2). The values AB and AC are, as explained above, determined. It is then found that I–2 = AC and that the angle of the body is fixed by a line drawn from I to B′ where A′B′ = AB. Again here we see how closely and exactly the *break in the neckband of the cloak* (indicated on the plate by the arrow) *follows the line IB′ which has been here purposely broken to show this.* The angle of the book is formed by a line connecting C′ with D where C′–2 = CB, and DA′ = ½ CB! Not only is the angle of the staff determined, but its *exact position* located by a line joining C″ and B″ where C″B = CB, and AB″ = AB. Thus we see how exactly the major portions of this composition are regulated by the functional values AB and AC.

Now continuing to a slightly more complicated composition we may consider next the Louvre Crucifixion (Fig. 3). If the explanation of the derivation of AB and AC is clearly understood, the geometric framework of this picture as shown is nearly self-explanatory. The angle at which the Christ is placed upon the cross has been determined by a manipulation of the two AB measurements (as shown) while the angle of the body of the donor at the left equals that of the Christ. Parallels at distance BC from the sides of the picture define exactly such critical points as the ears of the donors and locate their distance inwardly. The angle of inclination of the donor at the right, on first glance apparently the same as that on the left, is found to be subtly changed by the alternation of an AB with an AC measurement. A parallel to the base of the picture through B, likewise, segregates the two lower figures and passes through the spiked foot of the Christ. Is it not interesting to see how closely the indicated angle lines determine such minor points as the angles of the hands of the two lower figures?

One of the most brilliant examples of El Greco's style is the Ascension of Christ (Fig. 4). The freedom of line, the upward dynamic sweep of the figures, the striking manipulation of high lights, all go to mark this work as extremely interesting. Considered geometrically it becomes one of the most fascinating of them all. The measurement AB is obtained in the usual way. (For simplification see appended Diagram 2). Now on AB construct the square ABEF. Draw next the lines FG and F′H and note that they are the exact axes of the side figures. The exact center of the composition is the toe of the foot of the Christ. We will call this point O and with O as a center and with a radius = AB inscribe a circle and it will be found to enclose exactly the three heads about the feet of the Christ. Draw a second circle with O as a center and 2 AB (= ½ width of picture) as a radius and the remaining heads are enclosed. We now come to a disclosure which would seem to infer that Greco sometimes played with this method in an amusing


AB
C
B
A
AB
AB
AC

3. El Greco. Crucifixion. Paris, Louvre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H
3
1
X′
X
4
2
B
A
F
F′

4. El Greco. Ascension of Christ

manner, almost as if, the key to the solution being known, the content became doubly interesting. Let us draw a line from the thumb of the upraised hand of the figure on the right to the point O. If we then extend it, it will connect with the thumb on the figure at the left and below the center of the composition! (See Fig. 4.) But more startling it becomes if we continue. From the chin of the same right hand figure we draw likewise a line to O and extend it and find that it connects with the chin of the figure at the left center. If we draw next a line from the nose of the uppermost left hand figure it, in its extension to O, will pass through the nose of the figure just above and to the left of the feet of the Christ. It is absurd to call this *chance*. Finally, the banner standard parallels the line F′H and the general generation of movement is indicated by the curves 1–2, 3–4 whose radius is 3 AB about X and X′.

Thus it would seem that Greco employed a geometric groundwork (the elementary conception of which may well have come from the studios of Venice) and that this geometric plan was followed, unlike those of his Italian contemporaries, in very minute detail. So it is, once again, that Greco's personality shows through his work in a consistent manner, for, just as he carried to ultimate developments, elongation and chiaroscuro, so too did he carry to its ultimate conception this balance of composition, making it, in every sense, a literal balance. But why he worked in this fashion raises debatable questions.

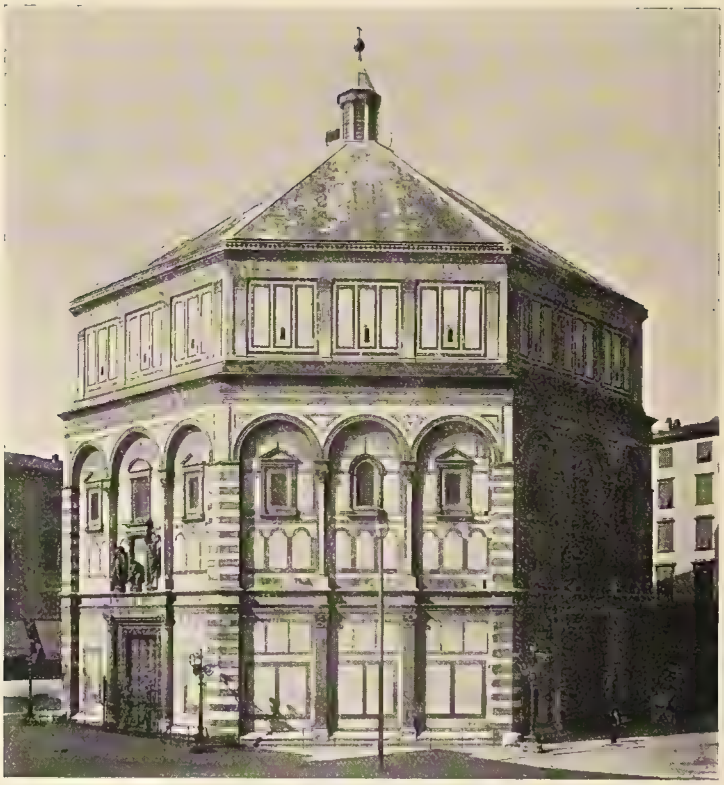
It is probably unlikely that he thought out his painting in geometrics, — in triangles, squares, circles, — but rather, having arranged his composition in a general way, he then crystallized it into this geometric formula, in some cases disguising the frame-work by means of the play of light, in many cases, once the key to the arrangement was known, offering no disguise. It is to be recalled, in this connection, that Greco is reported to have once stressed the importance of light and color over that of drawing. The occurrence of such amusing details as those noted in the Ascension is possibly an indication of the intelligent mind playing with its theory.

But why did Greco crystallize his work into a formula? At once two possible reasons come to mind. Greco was a prolific painter; not only that, he made many similar compositions, and with this system, with a definite formula for each, his method was such that, even with a variation in the size of the replica, the same formula was always applicable. In truth it was a shorthand method more ingenuous and of far easier application than the lengthy process of squaring a canvas.

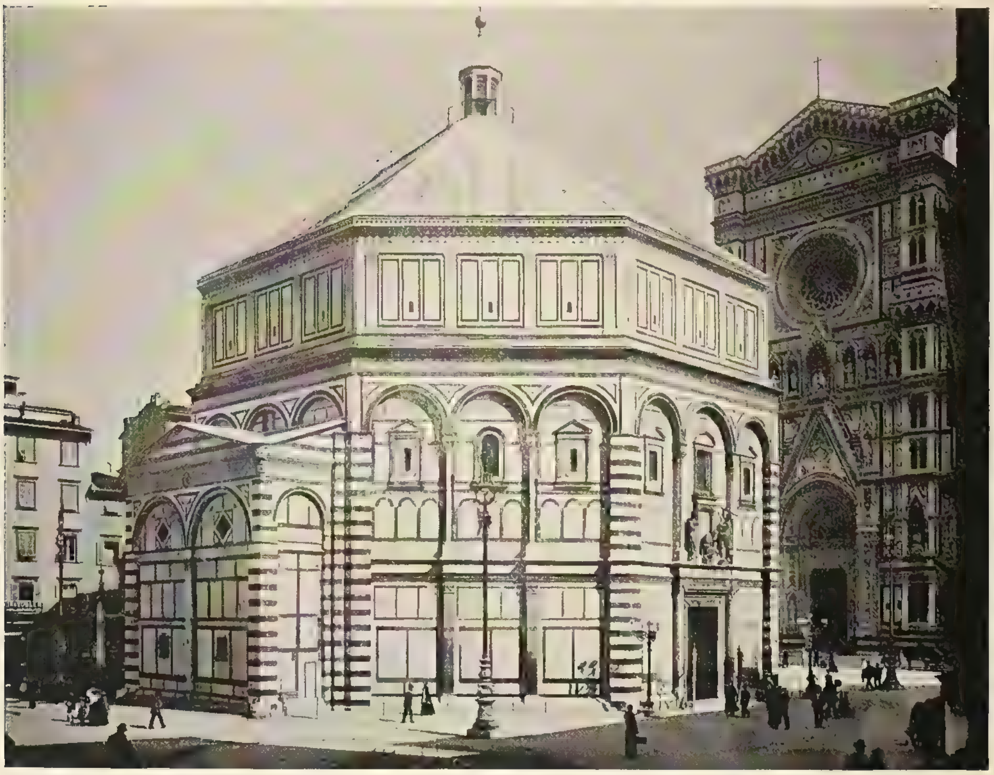
Nor is it remotely possible that this method may have direct connection with the troublesome problem of astigmatism. It may have been very much a method of guidance. This idea is strengthened by recalling, in many cases illustrated, how closely, and with what minute and surprising precision, the composition, in many places, follows the under construction.

On the other hand we may not have to seek such literal explanations. We know El Greco as an unusually intelligent man and the development of such a programme may well have been in the nature of an intellectual game at which the artist worked, in which the added complication necessitated the added ingenuity (not always wholly successful) of disguise. Nor would we expect a geometric sense to be foreign to one whose ancestry undoubtedly was linked with Greece. Whatever the answer may be, Greco, as a developer of a rigid system in composition, is as unique among his contemporaries as he is in color, lighting, and mood, and his singularity of temperament has a scientific aspect that has escaped most of his critics.

THE FLORENTINE BAPTISTERY



1. The Baptistery from the South-east. (Phot. Brogi)



2. The Baptistery from the South-west. (Phot. Alinari)

THE FLORENTINE BAPTISTERY

By EDGAR W. ANTHONY

The baptistery of Florence (Figs. 1–4) is an octagonal structure covered by an elliptical octagonal dome or cloister vault. Each face of the exterior has a high blind arcade of three arches with piers at the angles. Between the angle-piers, the arches are supported by two orders; the lower order consisting of engaged pilasters, and the upper, of engaged octagonal piers — both having Corinthian and composite capitals. The blind arcades are crowned by an entablature, and above this, there is an attic, each face of which is divided into three compartments by flat Corinthian pilasters. A pyramidal roof crowned by a lantern covers the dome.

The interior (Figs. 5–9), which is even more classical in character, has a lower order of two free-standing Corinthian columns[1] in each face of the octagon, with fluted pilasters at the angles; the whole crowned by an entablature. Above this lower order there is a gallery, each face of which is divided into three compartments by flat Corinthian pilasters, and in each compartment there is a bifurcated opening with arches resting upon Ionic colonnettes. Above the gallery, at the base of the dome, is a series of quadrangular openings. The dome and the vault of the rectangular tribune are covered with mosaics of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

Both the exterior and the interior are veneered with slabs of marble in a decoration of dark-green (usually referred to as black) on white. The building originally stood upon a podium, which has disappeared with the raising of the level of the surrounding piazza, and the present rectangular tribune replaces an earlier semi-circular apse. The three portals are on the north, east, and south sides.

Probably no building in Italy has given rise to more discussion than the Florentine Baptistery, both on account of its great intrinsic importance, and also because without any definite documentary evidence in regard to its origin, a correct dating is essential in order to interpret rightly the development of the Early Florentine style.

Tradition would make this monument the oldest in the city, and Dante,[2] Villani,[3] and the other early writers considered it to have been originally a temple dedicated to Mars, later converted into a church. This tradition is followed by Boccaccio, Marchionne di Coppo Stefani, Matteo Palmieri, Leonardo Bruni, Politian, and Cellini; and it was current even in the eighteenth century.[1] But as we come into the eighteenth century, we find that the old Mars Temple tradition is doubted and the opinion is brought forward that possibly the baptistery is of the Lombard period, and that it was built upon the ruins of an earlier building.[2]

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[1] Some of the capitals are composite.

[2] Dante, *Inferno*, Canto XIII. "... la città che nel Battista cangió 'l primo padrone."

[3] Villani, *Cronica*, bk. I, XIII. "I cittadini di quella essendo in buono stato, ordinaro di fare nella detta cittade uno tempio meraviglioso all'onore dello Iddio Marte, per la vittoria ch'e' Romani aviano avuto della città di Fiesole, e mandaro al Senato di Roma che mandasse loro gli migliori e più sottili maestri che fossono in Roma, e così fù

During the early nineteenth century, the most prevalent opinion, largely following Del Rosso, dates the baptistery from the seventh to the eighth centuries.[3]

In 1859, Kugler [4] gives the baptistery to the twelfth century and starts a controversy with Hübsch [5] who considers it of the sixth. From now on, we find that opinion is largely divided between those who regard the building of the fourth to the sixth century and those who follow Kugler in giving it to the eleventh or twelfth. Schnaase,[6] Lübke,[7] Fergusson,[8] Burckhardt,[9] Cattaneo,[10] Dehio and Von Bezold,[11] and Rivoira,[12] are inclined to the later dating.

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fatto. E fecino venire marmi bianchi e neri, e colonne di più parti di lungi per mare e poi per Arno. . . . Et troviamo che il detto tempio fu cominciato al tempo che regnava Ottaviano Agusto . . ."

[1] Lionardo Aretino, *Istoria Fiorentina*, (Florence, 1492), follows Villani; Ricordano Malespini, *Historia Antica* (Florence, 1568), p. 26, considers that the builders were "li maestri Romani"; and K. Piero Buoninsegni, *Historia Fiorentina* (Florence, 1581), p. 5, and Vincenzio Borghini, *Discorsi* (Florence, 1584), vol. I, p. 124, are of the same opinion. Bocchi-Cinelli, *Le Bellezze di Firenze* (Pistoia, 1678), p. 25, thought it was founded in 35 B.C.; and Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* (Venice, 1718), bk. III, p. 10, considered that it stood on the site of the old temple to Mars; "quod repurgatum et in Cattedralem designatum Sancto Joanni Baptistae consecrandum curarunt."

[2] Ferdinando Leopoldo de Migliore, *Firenze, città nobilissima illustrata* (Florence, 1684), p. 83, considers that the baptistery was founded upon the ruins of an ancient temple; and Giov. Battista Clemente Nelli, *Piante ed alzati di S. Maria del Fiore* (Florence, 1725), p. xxxvi, is of the same opinion, as he writes that it is not possible "che questo Tempio sia stato fabbricato per culto d'Idolio," and (*op. cit.*, p. xxxv) comes to the conclusion that it was founded in the time of Queen Theodolinda. Domenico Maria Manni, *Principii della Religione Cristiana in Firenze* (Florence, 1764), p. 73, considers that the baptistery was built by Christians for its present purpose, and Lami, *Lezioni di Antichità Toscane* (Florence, 1766), p. 59, is of the same opinion, but admits that "il Tempio di Marte fosse in questo contorno." This opinion is followed by Marco Lastri, *L'Osservatore Fiorentino* (Florence, 1797), vol. II, p. 49.

[3] Giuseppe del Rosso, *Ricerche storico-architettoniche di San Giov. di Firenze* (Florence, 1820), p. 16, would fix the foundation between the seventh and eighth centuries. Seroux d'Agincourt, *Histoire de l'arch. par les monuments* (Paris, 1823), vol. III, p. 66, would place it not after the sixth century; and C. F. von Rumohr, *Italienische Forschungen* (Berlin, 1827–1831), vol. III, p. 178, considers that "Gewiss reicht ihr Andenken bis in die Langobardische Zeit hinauf." Isabelle, *Les édifices circulaires et les dômes* (Paris, 1855), p. 105, would place it in the sixth century.

[4] Franz Kugler, *Geschichte der Baukunst* (Stuttgart, 1859), vol. II, p. 58 ff.

[5] Henri Hübsch, *Monuments de l'Architecture chrétienne depuis Constantin jusqu'à Charlemagne, traduit de l'Allemand par* V. Guerber, Paris, 1866.

[6] Karl Schnaase, *Geschichte der bildenden Künste im Mittelalter* (Düsseldorf, 1866–1879), vol. II, p. 442, considers it of the eleventh century and contemporary with San Miniato.

[7] W. Lübke, *Geschichte der Architektur von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*, Leipzig, 1884.

[8] James Fergusson, *History of Architecture* (London, 1874), vol. I, p. 437.

[9] Jakob Burckhardt, *Geschichte der Renaissance in Italien*, 3d ed., Stuttgart, 1891.

[10] Raffaele Cattaneo, *L'Architettura in Italia dal secolo VI al Mille circa*, Venice, 1888.

[11] Dehio und Von Bezold, *Die Kirchliche Baukunst des Abendlandes*, Stuttgart, 1892.

[12] Rivoira, *Le origini dell' Architettura lombarda*, Rome, 1901.

Fergusson[1] considered that the baptistery had not originally the present form, "and most probably those columns which now stand ranged round the walls, at that time stood in the center, as in the Roman examples." Befani[2] and Mothes[3] follow this opinion. Befani, however,[4] thinks that the baptistery was built from the fifth to the sixth century and therefore goes back to the earlier opinion of Hübsch. Davidsohn[5] is inclined to an early date, but would place it in the seventh century. The two conflicting points of view are best summed up by Nardini[6] and Supino.[7]

Nardini, in a detailed and careful study of the subject, decides for the fourth or fifth century; but Supino, with many convincing arguments in his favor, is of the contrary opinion and places the date after 1000. However, the controversy still continued, as Karl Frey,[8] in a refutation of Supino's theory, puts the actual construction of the building at the beginning of the seventh century. Rupp[9] in his work on the decorative style in Florence, bringing forward no new evidence, largely follows the arguments of Supino; and Swoboda,[10] in his study of the baptistery, attempts to establish a date, in part by a comparison of the decoration with other similar examples of decoration, whose dates are known, and in part by following Supino's arguments. He places the building in the second half of the twelfth century,[11] after dating the tomb of Bishop Raniero, which is incorporated in one of the sidewalls of the interior, within the first two decades of the same century![12]

More recently, Toesca, taking into consideration the latest excavations beneath the building itself, has attributed at least the nucleus of the construction to the fifth century.[13]

This brief review of the bibliography on the baptistery will show to what an extent it has interested historians and archaeologists from Villani to the present day. Many of the theories evolved in regard to the origin and the date of the building have little value, as they are founded upon local traditions, unauthenticated documents and incorrect interpretations of the structure itself. It will be well, perhaps, to establish the actual facts we have to proceed upon: (1) documentary evidence; (2) the evidence which has been revealed by the excavations about and beneath the building; (3) the internal evidence of the building itself.

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[1] *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 437.

[2] Giov. Battista Befani, *Memorie storiche dell' antichissima basilica di S. Giovanni Battista*, (Florence, 1884), p. 15.

[3] Oscar Mothes, *Die Baukunst des Mittelalters in Italien*, Jena, 1884.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

[5] Robert Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz* (Berlin, 1896), vol. I, p. 105.

[6] A. Nardini Despotti-Mospignotti, *Il Duomo di San Giovanni*, Florence, 1902.

[7] I. B. Supino, *Gli Albori dell' Arte Fiorentina*, Florence, 1906.

[8] K. Frey, *Le Vite di G. Vasari* (Munich, 1911), vol. I, p. 575 ff. (For Supino's reply cf. *Una Nuova edizione delle Vite del Vasari*, in *Rivista d'Italia*, 1912, vol. I, p. 7 ff.)

[9] F. Rupp, *Inkrustationsstil der romanischen Baukunst zu Florenz* (Strassburg, 1912), p. 20 ff.

[10] K. M. Swoboda, *Das Florentiner Baptisterium*, Berlin-Vienna, 1918.

[11] *Op. cit.*, p. 79.

[12] *Op. cit.*, p. 4. Paul Franckl in his recent work, *Die Frühmittelalterliche und Romanische Baukunst* (Wildpark-Potsdam, 1926), p. 224, follows Swoboda.

[13] G. E. Rizzo and P. Toesca, *Storia dell' Arte* (Turin, 1915 *seq.*), vol. III, p. 105.

1. Documentary Evidence

The earliest mention of the baptistery is the act of donation of Bishop Specioso of the year 724, but the authenticity of this document is very doubtful.[1] The first undoubtedly authentic document is the decree of a council held in Florence on March 4, 897, by Count Amadeo, Marquis Adalberto, and others, in which Pietro, bishop of Lucca, and his advocate, Teutperto, regain the possession of churches and lands unjustly held by others.[2] This unquestionably genuine document proves that a baptistery existed in the ninth century, and this is further strengthened by the *Diploma of King Berengarius* of the year 899, in which the baptistery and San Miniato are mentioned as cotitular churches.[3] The baptistery is also mentioned in two tenth century documents of the emperors Otto II and Otto III.[4]

We learn that in 1059 it was reconsecrated by Pope Nicholas II.[5] No later document throws any light upon the origin of the building, although we find it mentioned with increasing frequency during the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It does not seem worth while to consider this later documentary material at length as it reveals nothing as to the origin of the building, and gives definite information only in regard to minor repairs and restorations.[6]

This scarcity of documentary evidence has given rise to the various hypotheses not only in regard to the origin of the building, but also in regard to

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[1] MSS in the Archives of Santa Maria del Fiore. The donations are described as comprised "infra plebe et episcopio b. ionnis baptiste vel reparate." Cf. Cocchi, *Le Chiese di Firenze* (Florence, 1903), vol. I, p. 39.

[2] MSS in the Archiepiscopal Archives of Lucca, No. 5 (publ. by Muratori, *Antic. ital.*, vol. I, p. 497–499). The MSS reads: "Dum ad preclarum potestatem domni lamberti piissimi imperatoris missus dicectus fuisset in finibus tuccie amedeus comes palatii et convenisset civitate florentia in domum episcopi ipsius civitatis in atrio contra ecclesia sancti joanni batista in iudicis resideret."

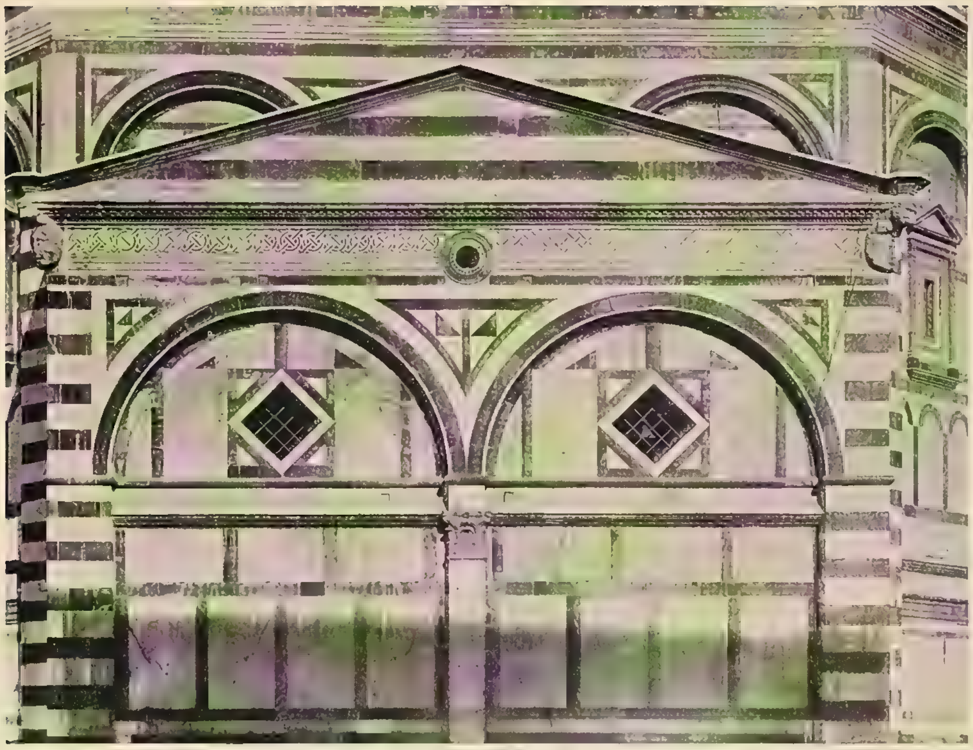
[3] This document is published by Ughelli, *Italia Sacra* (Venice, 1718), and reads: "Concessimus et condonavimus Ecclesiae Sanctorum Johannis et Miniati (s) que caput est Florentini episcopatus," etc.

[4] *Monumenta Germaniae historica Diplomata*, vol. II, pp. 312 and 721.

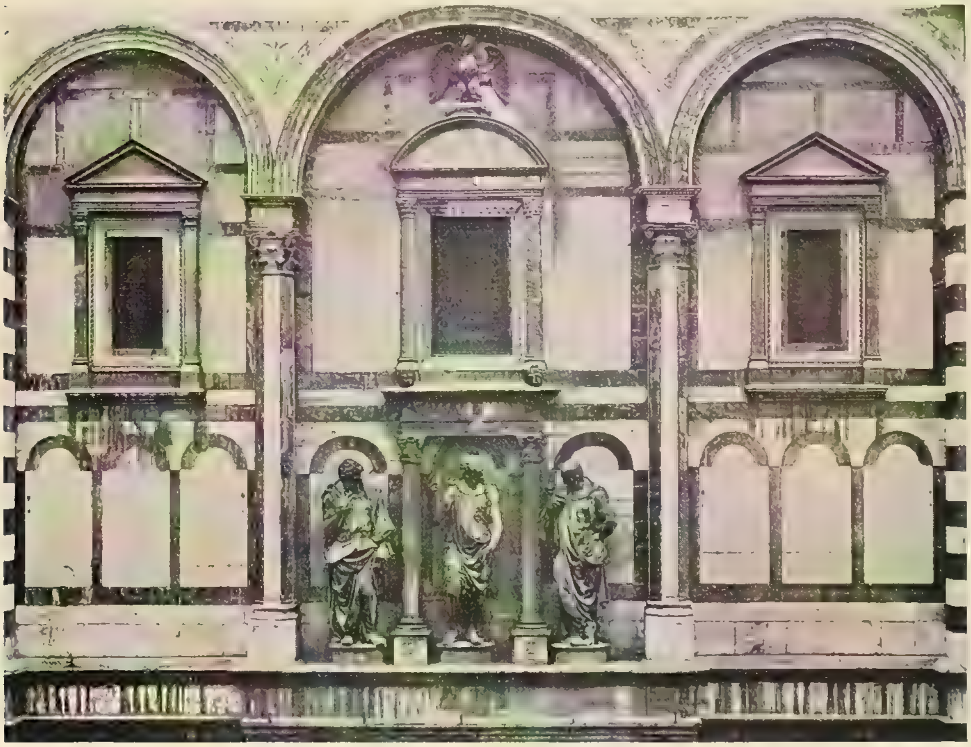
[5] Document published by Lami, *Sanctae ecclesiae Florentinae Monumenta* (Florence, 1758), vol. II, p. 938, note B.

[6] For documents from the thirteenth century on, cf. Nardini, *op. cit.*, p. 28 ff.; Frey, *Vasari*, vol. I, p. 328 ff.; Davidsohn, *Forschungen*, vol. IV, p. 461 ff.; Befani, *op. cit.*, p. 23; Castellucci, *La decorazione esterna del Tempio di San Giovanni*, in *Arte e Storia*, vol. VII (1888), p. 120 ff.

We learn that in 1430 the roof was covered with lead, and in 1455, with marble slabs. In 1515 the dome was reinforced with chains. At the end of the fifteenth century, the mosaics were completely restored, and again in 1782, at which time the capitals of the columns and pilasters of the interior were repaired with stucco and regilded. The earlier documents are mentioned or published in Lami, *op. cit.*, and Richa, *Notizie istoriche delle chiese Fiorentine*, Florence, 1754–1762.



3. Upper Part of the Tribune. (Phot. Alinari)



4. Detail of the North Façade. (Phot. Alinari)

its use; whether it was in origin a baptistery or a cathedral. This has been thoroughly discussed by Nardini and Supino.[1]

With no convincing proof to the contrary, we may consider that San Giovanni was originally constructed as a baptistery. The plan with its general resemblance to other early baptisteries would bear this out; and also its position in front of the church of Santa Reparata, corresponding to the arrangement we find at Novara, Parenzo, Aquileia, and other places.

We may mention another theory which was started by rather vague documentary evidence; namely, that San Giovanni had only one portal situated on the east, in the position of the present tribune, instead of the three which exist at present. This theory, which was advocated by Borghini and other early writers, and which found credence nearly to the present day, was successfully refuted by Nardini,[2] who showed that the present doors have been an integral part of the original construction.[3]

Reviewing the documentary evidence, we find that the only important facts which we may rely upon are the mention of a church of San Giovanni (which all critics agree must have stood upon the site of the present baptistery) towards the end of the ninth century, and a reconsecration of the church by Nicholas II in 1059.[4]

2. THE EXCAVATIONS

The excavations carried out in 1893 and 1897 in the vicinity of the baptistery, especially about the present tribune, and after 1915, beneath the actual building, have contributed certain important results.[5] The earlier excavations show that the baptistery stood in a rectangle, or square, as two Roman roads were found at the west and north. The few remains of Roman buildings found have nothing to do with the actual baptistery and were not utilized in its foundations. The important find was the discovery of the foundations of an earlier semi-circular apse which was later replaced by the present tribune. There is no doubt that this apse formed a part of the original structure, as it is concentric with the east face of the octagon and its foundations have the same number of stone-courses as the foundations of the rest of the building.[1]

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[1] Nardini, *op. cit.*, p. 67 ff., taking his argument from a spurious life of St. Zenobius in the Biblioteca Laurenziana and other documents, considers that the baptistery was originally dedicated to San Salvatore and that the title was changed to San Giovanni probably under the Lombards. He considers it to have been originally constructed as a cathedral and to have been reconsecrated as a baptistery in the middle of the eleventh century, at which time the adjacent church of Santa Reparata became the cathedral. Supino (*op. cit.*, p. 27 ff.) refutes these arguments.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 96 ff.

[3] But Davidsohn (*Geschichte von Florenz*, pp. 72 and 862, note 4) interprets the words "in atrio ante basilica S. Joannis, " from the document of 897 in the Lucca Archives, to mean that there was an atrium and door where the present tribune now stands. A correct interpretation would seem to make this atrium a part of the bishop's palace, which stood behind the baptistery.

[4] That the building must have already been in need of repairs by the tenth century, we learn from the abovementioned *Diploma of Otto II* (p. ii), where we read: "et eos tantam penuriam non magis substinere paterernum videlicet eiusdem sancte Florentine ecclesie pastores tenam canonice sancti Johannis sive in beneficio distribuendo seu quod deterius est meretribus dando, sancta dei ecclesia esset diruta et etiam a clericis ibidem servientibus omnine derelicta."

[5] An account of these excavations is given by E. Galli, in *Rivista d'arte*, vol. IX (1917). Cf. also the summary by Toesca, *op. cit.*, bk. III, p. 568, note 34.

These excavations also substantiate the knowledge we already have from literary sources that the building stood on a stepped base and was surrounded by sarcophagi.[2] This base disappeared with the raising of the piazza in the twelfth or thirteenth century.[3]

Far more important are the excavations carried out beneath the tribune, the adjacent wall to the left of the tribune, and the central area (Fig. 10). The results are perhaps largely negative and a complete excavation of the area beneath the baptistery will be necessary to clear up all doubts in regard to the date of the building. Nevertheless, we are now in a position to deduce some facts and to exclude certain dates. The different strata reveal, above the virgin soil, remains of Roman buildings of various epochs, some as late as the fourth century; a tomb broken by the foundations of the pilaster to the left of the tribune, which contained a coin of Constantine (306–337). The crude construction of this tomb and its ruined condition preclude a positive dating, but there is no reason to suppose it later than the end of the fourth century, and it would seem to be related to others of uncertain date found outside the baptistery. Among the coins found during the excavations, the most recent is of the time of Honorius (410–425). The results show that there is no trace of foundations, or any material belonging to an earlier baptistery which might have preceded the present one, as the Roman remains found are not incorporated in any way in the present structure. But the discovery of Late Roman foundations, mosaic pavements, and coins of the early fifth century, absolutely disproves the old tradition that the building was originally Roman, and excludes any date before the fifth century.

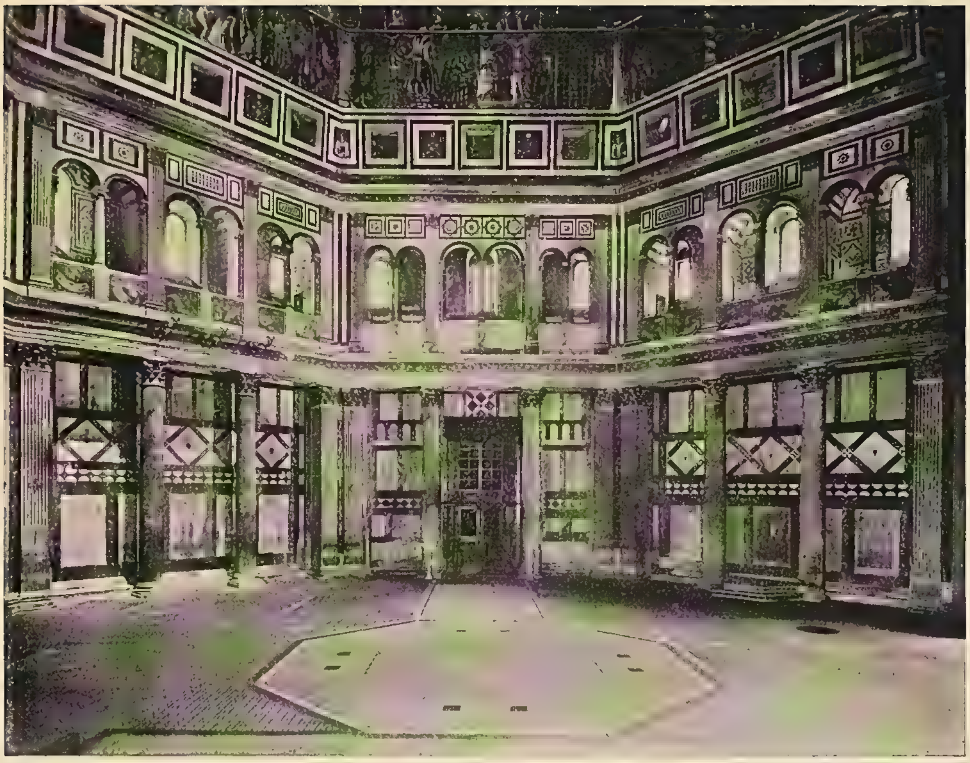
Excavations beneath the tribune have not, as yet, proved or disproved whether a crypt originally existed here. Fragments of a pavement found,

[1] Cf. Nardini, *op. cit.*, p. 90 ff.

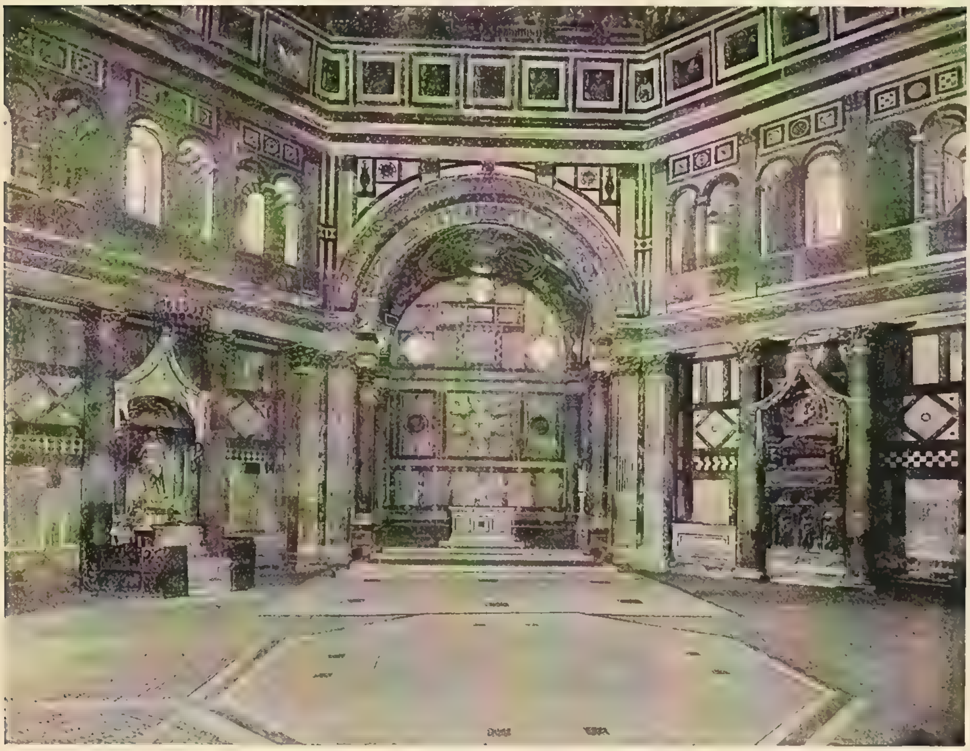
[2] Some of the sarcophagi are now in the Palazzo Riccardi and two are within the Baptistery itself.

[3] This was done in the late thirteenth century according to Villani (bk. I, VIII, chap. 3), who writes: "Nel detto anno 1293 s'apprese in Firenze un grandissimo fuoco nella contrada detta Torcicoda, tra San Pietro Maggiore, e San Simeone, e arsono più di trenta case con gran danno, ma non vi morì persona. E nel detto temp si fecero intorno a San Giovanni i pilastri de'gheroni del marmo neri e bianchi per l'arte di Calimala, che prima erano di macigni; e levaroncene tutti i monumenti, e sepolture, e archi di marmo, che erano d'intorno a San Giovanni, per più bellezza della chiesa."

The *gheroni* referred to by Villani are the angle-piers of the octagon which, according to him, received their marble revetment at this time.



5. Interior, looking East. (Phot. Alinari)



6. Interior, looking West. (Phot. Alinari)

which was placed over an earlier mosaic pavement may possibly have belonged to a crypt or may be a part of a late Roman construction (cf. Fig. 10).

The most interesting discovery was a large octagonal cavity in the center of the baptistery similar in construction to the foundation walls of the building, with its own foundations going below the remains of Roman mosaic pavements. This was undoubtedly a baptismal font, and its plan is exactly coördinated with the larger octagon of the building itself. In the middle, there is a large cube which probably formed the base of some central structure. At some time, this earlier font was filled in and superseded by the octagonal medieval font of which various fragments have been recovered. This is proved by the fact that the lead pipe which carried water from the roof to this later font after passing below the present pavement of the baptistery, rested on the sill of the earlier octagonal structure without other support. The later font which was probably surrounded by steps, similar in arrangement to the one in the baptistery of Pisa, was undoubtedly of the twelfth century, and therefore this earlier structure must be before that date and is, perhaps, contemporary with the construction of the building. There is no reason to suppose that it formed part of an earlier baptistery as we find no indication that an earlier building existed, and it is also an added argument in favor of the theory that the building was always used as a baptistery.

The results of these excavations seem to show us that the baptistery could not have been originally a Roman building later converted into a church, that it cannot reasonably be dated earlier than the fifth century, and that it is extremely doubtful if an earlier baptistery existed, as, if such were the case, some slight remains or indications would have been found.

3. Internal Evidence

We may now say that we have a building which can be dated in the fifth century, or later, which is mentioned as early as the ninth century, and the construction of which, with the exception of the tribune, or *scarsella*, seems to be homogeneous and of one period.[1] The marble incrustation of both the exterior and interior has been so frequently restored that probably little or none of the original decoration remains.[1] This decoration may reproduce earlier forms or be modified according to the taste of the time; this will be more clearly brought out when we compare it with other Florentine examples.

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[1] Examination of the masonry during the more recent restorations has failed to show any abrupt changes in the construction. Nardini (*op. cit.*, p. 31 ff.) has carefully studied the constructive principles. Cf. also, J. Durm, *Zwei Grosskonstruktionen der ital. Renaissance, Zeitschrift für Bauwesen, Jahrg.*, vol. XXXVII, Berlin, 1887. Hübsch (*op. cit.*, p. 27) considered that the galleries were remodelled but there is no convincing proof of this. The arch of the tribune is too much a part of the surrounding structure to have been interpolated later. On the exterior, the attic-story and the covering of the dome were probably added later (twelfth or thirteenth centuries) although there is no definite document for this, and it may have been done during one of the many restorations of the thirteenth century. The original vault was partly uncovered and had a stepped base somewhat resembling the Pantheon (cf. Supino, *op. cit.*, p. 45, and the report of the architect Del Moro, 1897, quoted by Nardini, *op. cit.*, p. 127, note 1). In regard to the lantern, the early writers considered that the dome had an opening like the Pantheon and following the statement of Villani (*op. cit.*, bk. I, chap. IX) thought that this feature was added in 1150. An opening like the Pantheon in a dome of this form and size would be hardly practical and it seems more logical to consider Villani's statement as referring to a restoration. (Cf. Nardini, *op. cit.*, p. 105.)

We have seen that we may safely exclude a Roman date for the baptistery, and a comparison of the building with constructions of the Lombards, and, in fact, with any architecture from the seventh century until after 1000, would seem to exclude the possibility of dating it during that period. The strong classical feeling in San Giovanni, both in detail and in construction, is too unlike anything in Byzantine or Pre-Romanesque architecture to consider it closely related to work of these schools. Therefore, we are faced with the problem of placing it in the fifth or early sixth century and considering it an Early Christian building, or else giving it to the eleventh or twelfth centuries and making it a part of the so-called Florentine Proto-Renaissance, and contemporary, or nearly contemporary, with the other buildings of this school, such as San Miniato or Empoli. If we take the early date, we must consider a gap of several centuries, during the "dark period" when the tradition of this style, especially in details, lay dormant, to be renewed and almost copied again in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. If we take the later dating, without having San Giovanni as the proto-type, we must consider that a strong enough classical tradition survived for a thousand years, with nearly all vestiges of Roman work destroyed in Florence, to enable medieval builders to reproduce Late Roman constructive principles and detail so accurately that it is almost impossible to distinguish much of the work from Roman work of the fourth century. The partisans of these two divergent conceptions have brought in many minor considerations which somewhat confuse the issue and would serve equally well to illustrate either theory. Let us sum up briefly, then, the more important points on either side.

The arguments in favor of an eleventh century date have been well assembled by Supino.[2] He considers that the actual building shows no trace of any radical reconstruction, and that it must be essentially of one period. It is too unlike any edifice of the Late Roman or Early Christian periods to have been built during that time. Roman buildings of the central type are much heavier in construction, circular in plan, with domes, like the Pantheon; or, if they are polygonal on the exterior, they are circular on the interior, and vice-versa. The few attempts at lighter construction in vaulting during the Late Roman period, as in the so-called temple of Minerva Medica at Rome or the doubtful tomb of the Plautii, the striving to lighten the walls and have

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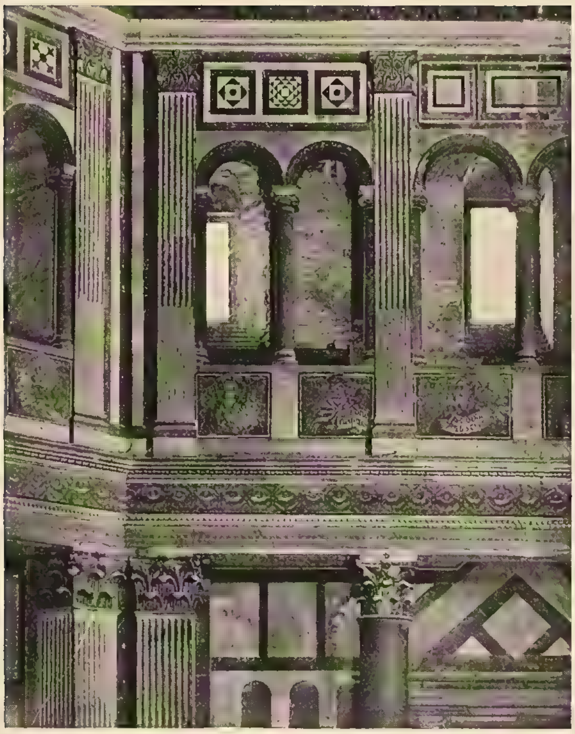
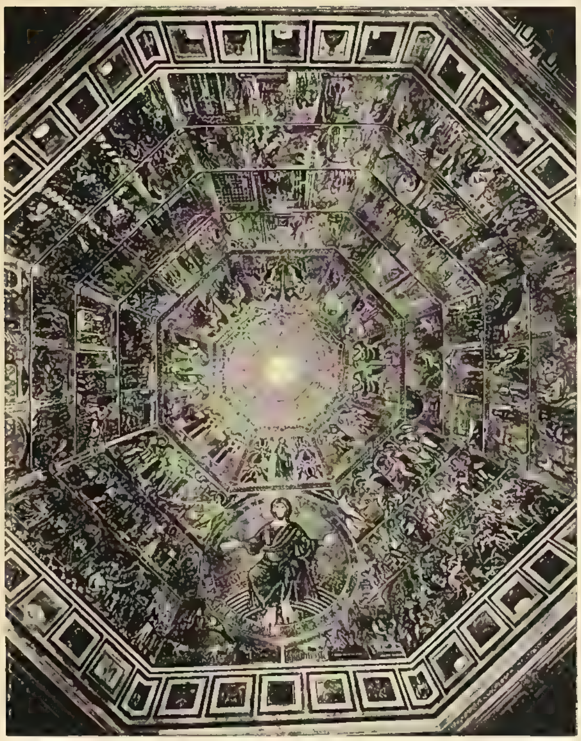
[1] Nardini (*op. cit.*) thought that the incrustation was largely original, and Hübsch (*op. cit.*) considered that the original structure was without any marble revetment and that the present decoration dates from the middle-ages.

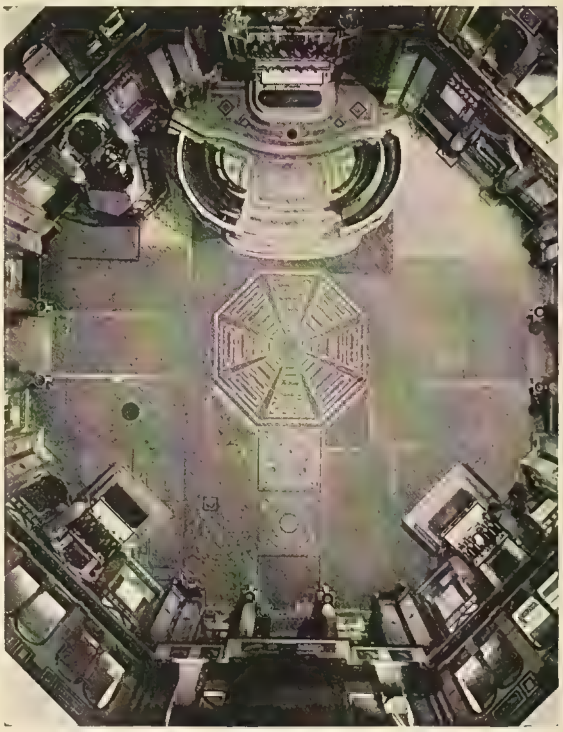
[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 18 ff.



7. Detail of the Loggia. (Phot. Alinari)



8. Interior of the Dome, showing the Mosaics. (Phot. Alinari)



9. The Pavement. (Phot. Alinari)

the thrusts taken by columns, as in Santa Costanza, all show the beginning of a slow evolution in architecture of which the sophisticated construction of San Giovanni is rather the culmination, than the groping and hesitating work of an innovation in style. For the same reasons, we cannot consider the baptistery to have any close analogy with the work at Ravenna, such as San Vitale; or with San Lorenzo at Milan; or with buildings of the central type in the near-East. Supino bases his principal argument on the construction of the cloister-vault which he considers could not have been done earlier than 1000, and which should be grouped with the similar constructions in Cremona[1] (1167), Parma (after 1196), and elsewhere, and not with the much cruder attempts of an earlier period. Actual Roman material, such as the columns and capitals of the interior, was used by the Florentines, just as the Pisans were using it at this time for the construction of their cathedral. He thinks that the reconsecration in the eleventh century was probably necessitated by a practical rebuilding in which we have the present baptistery; but he also conjectures that an earlier baptistery, perhaps of the Lombard period, stood upon the site of the present one.[2]

The advocates of an early date, Nardini,[3] Venturi,[4] Toesca,[5] in arriving at their opinion consider: the strong classical character of much of the construction and detail; the documentary evidence that a baptistery existed at an early date; the tradition throughout Florentine history that the building was of a remote age; and, in the case of Toesca, the evidence of the more recent excavations. I do not hesitate to agree with these authorities in giving the baptistery an early date, and I would place it in the fifth century. In the first place, the architecture, in its main features, is strongly classical. The lower order of the interior, with its arrangement of pilasters and columns, bears a close resemblance to the Pantheon (Figs. 5 and 6). These columns and pilasters are undoubtedly antique, and the architrave which rests on them is so similar to Late Roman work that it is difficult to consider it a product of the eleventh century. Nor can we consider that this architrave is composed of antique fragments re-used at a later period. The accurate joining at the angles (of the octagon) and the spacing of the decoration on the moldings over the intercolumniations preclude any such possibility (cf. Fig. 7). Some of the capitals have been restored with stucco, and the gilding prevents a too accurate examination, but they must undoubtedly be considered as antique. The Corinthian pilasters of the second order also appear to be antique and to have been designed for their present position. The capitals of the Ionic colonnettes of the bifora of the gallery (Fig. 7) seem to be, largely, later restorations, and the fact that the archivolts which they carry rest upon a stilt-block, instead of a fully developed architrave-block, would give some weight to Hübsch's theory that this feature is a later interpolation; although the evidence of the construction would prove that the gallery itself always existed.

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[1] If we place the Florentine Baptistery in this group, it would seem to be later than the baptistery of Cremona, which was rebuilt in 1167, on account of its superior construction. In the Florence of this period we cannot suppose that native workmen would have been capable of constructing such a dome, for which there would have been no tradition or precedent. A twelfth century dome, without doubt, would have been the work of imported Lombards, and it is difficult to imagine why they should have carried out a so much lighter and better proportioned work in Florence than in Cremona, even assuming that they had Cremona and other Lombard constructions as a precedent. It would appear, rather, that the baptistery of Cremona was planned after the interior of Florence, the more classical elegance of which is there altered by heavier Lombard forms.

[2] *Op. cit.*, p. 53.

[3] *Op. cit.*

[4] *Op. cit.*

[5] *Op. cit.*

In regard to the exterior; the blind arcades with their two orders seem to be a part of the original construction (Figs. 1 and 2). The fact that we have a complete architrave carried through and breaking around the engaged pilasters of the lower order is significant and follows more closely classical precedent than anything in the later Florentine buildings. In the upper order, the arches rest upon architrave-blocks instead of the usual impost we find in the other buildings of the group; the only exception being the façade of the Badia di Fiesole. We may also note that the engaged polygonal columns of this second order bear some resemblance to those in the so-called temple of Redeculus on the out-skirts of Rome.[1]

The fact that we have here an attempt to lighten the construction of the walls, to have a large amount of the weight of the vault taken by columns, is all a part of the evolution through which Late Roman architecture was passing, and anticipates the much lighter construction of the Early Christian period. From this point of view we may consider the baptistery as related to Santa Costanza, the Lateran Baptistery, and even San Vitale.

In Late Roman buildings we also find some analogy to the cloistered vault in such constructions as the tomb of the Plautii, the "temple of Diana" at Baia,[2] and other examples which reveal a tendency to experiment with this type of vaulting to lighten the construction and give variety to the wall surface.[3]

The fact that the dome of San Giovanni was originally uncovered for the greater part of its height, and surrounded by a stepped base, gives it greater analogy to the Roman examples. It would seem to be well established on internal evidence that the attic and the present roof of the baptistery are not a part of the original construction. Aside from the fact that the decora-

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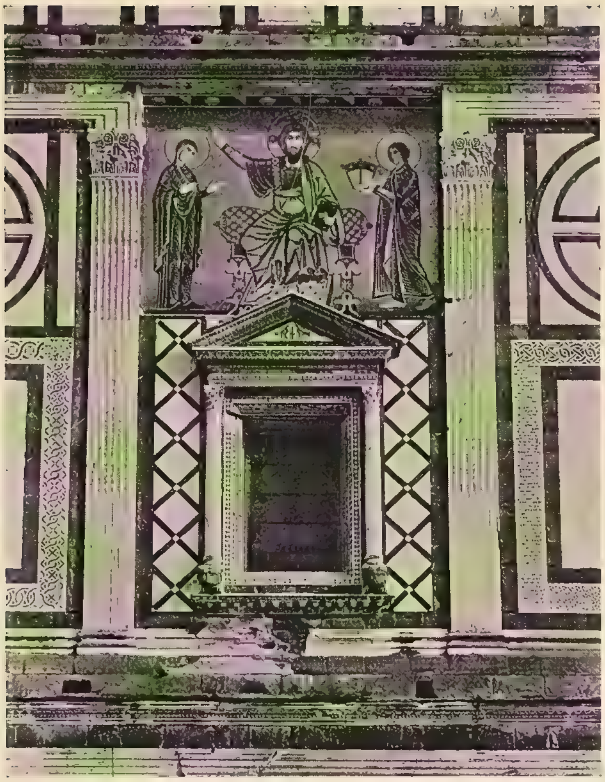
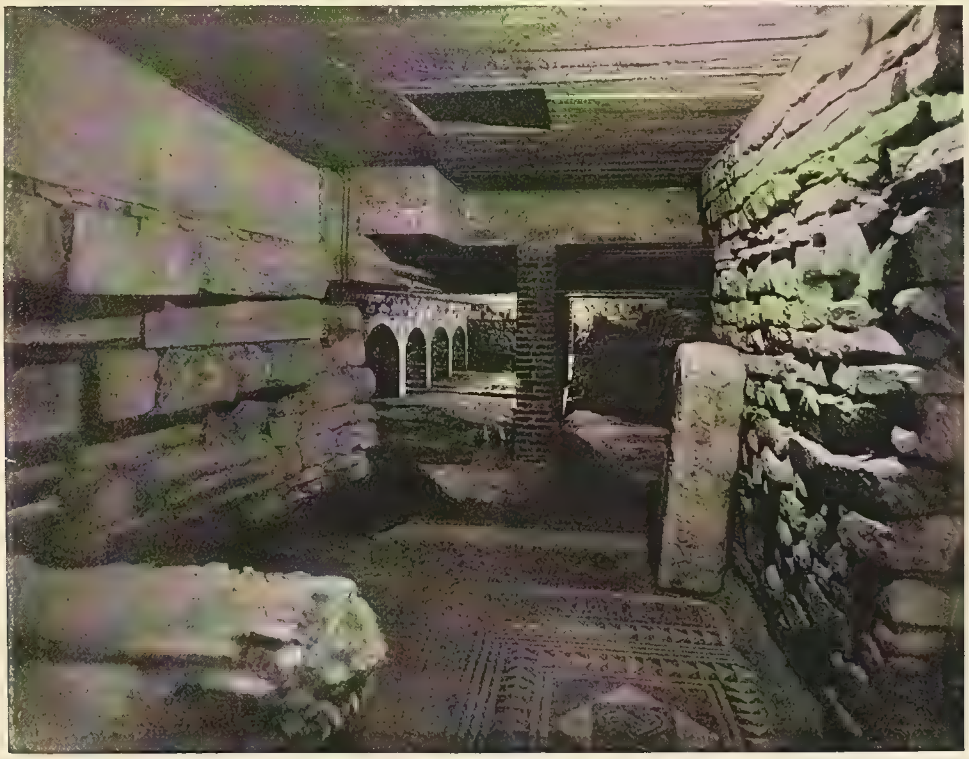
[1] Nardini, *op. cit.*

[2] Cf. J. Durm, *Baukunst der Etrusker und der Römer*, in *Handbuch d. Architektur* (Stuttgart, 1905), vol. II, p. 282.

[3] Cf. the Nymphaeum of the Gardens of Sallust (Rivoira, *Arch. Romana*, p. 121 ff.), and the vault in the palace of Augustus on the Palatine (Rivoira, *op. cit.*, p. 135 ff.); also, the so-called Tempio di Siepe, cf. Rivoira, *Archit. Musulmana*, p. 62 ff. Cf. also, G. Giovannoni, *La sala termale della villa Liciniana e le cupole romane.* (*Annali della Societá degli Ingegneri Italiani*, 1904.)



11. San Miniato. The Central Part of the Façade. (Phot. Alinari)



10. The Excavations. (Phot. Alinari)

tion of the attic wall seems later in character than the decoration below it, we find on the inner face of this wall a break in the masonry at a height of 3.25 meters from the floor of the passage-way over the gallery. The attic wall at this point is also corbelled-out several centimeters. We may, therefore, suppose that the original roof spanned the thickness of the wall at this lower level, leaving exposed the dome with its stepped base, and that the present attic and roof is a reconstruction of the eleventh century, perhaps contemporary with the tribune, or *scarsella*, and completed before the reconsecration of the church by Pope Nicholas II in 1059.

It seems to me that these architectural features which we have been discussing bear too strong a classical imprint not to be considered a more or less direct continuation of the Roman tradition, rather than a revival after a lapse of several centuries. We might admit that a recopying of classical decorative motives took place in the eleventh century, making use of the few actual Roman remains in Florence as their models; but the whole treatment of the lower order of the interior of the baptistery is too genuinely Roman in conception to have been carried out in the eleventh century.

We have already seen that there is definite mention of a baptistery on this site as early as the ninth century; and even the partisans of an eleventh or twelfth century date admit that there must have been an earlier building which was demolished to make way for the present one.[1] But the excavations have revealed no trace of an earlier structure, and we are, therefore, justified in doubting its existence. Then, too, some consideration should be given to the tradition which existed throughout Florentine history that the baptistery was an ancient building. It does not seem probable that Dante would speak of the "antico vostro battistero"[2] where his great-great-grandfather, Cacciaguida was baptized, if it were a construction dating hardly two hundred years before his time.

If we accept an early date for San Giovanni, it seems more logical to place it as early as possible, regarding it as a direct continuation of the classical tradition and as we have found that it cannot be before the fourth century, a date during the following century seems to be the most convincing.

4. DECORATION

The marble incrustation of the baptistery has undergone so many restorations, probably beginning even in the tenth century, that it is difficult to date much of it with precision. It is probable that the simple rectangular panelling in the lower part of both the exterior and interior walls is of the older work (Figs. 1 and 2, 5 and 6), but it seems to be almost impossible to tell whether this reproduces to some extent the original decoration, or whether it was entirely conceived during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, with the aid of more or less classical precedents. Just above the architrave of the lower exterior order, we have an imitation in incrustation of one of those open arcades so frequent in Lombard or Central Italian Romanesque (Fig. 4).

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[1] Cf. Supino, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[2] *Paradiso*, Canto XV.

The windows above this arcade (Fig. 4) have been thought to be a part of the original structure,[1] and the tabernacle enframements to have been derived from the sarcophagi which at one time surrounded the base of the building; but if we consider the baptistery to be of the fifth century, there were probably many other extant examples of this type of work to choose from. The thinness of much of the detail, especially in the pediments, makes one wonder whether these enframements are not largely a restoration at least as late as the twelfth century,[2] or perhaps even later.

The intricate decoration of the frieze of the attic and the similar decoration of the frieze of the tribune is analogous in style to the decorative borders of the middle part of the façade of San Miniato (Figs. 1, 2, and 11), and would appear to be of the twelfth century, but the style of the decoration of the walls of the tribune, or *scarsella*, would tend to support Nardini's theory that this reconstruction was carried out in the eleventh century, perhaps just before the reconsecration of the church by Pope Nicholas II.

The piers at the angles of the exterior, constructed of blue-stone, the Florentine *macigno*, were, according to Villani,[3] originally uncovered, and received their present banded decoration of alternate blocks of black and white marble in 1293. This work is unlike the veneer of marble slabs characteristic of the Florentine school, and is obviously directly taken from Pisa.[4]

A more detailed analysis of the decoration of the baptistery would not serve, I think, to bring out more clearly any facts as to the date of the building.

The pavement, of which certain slabs (the Zodiac, etc.) are obviously inspired by textile designs, is of the later period of decoration, and from its close analogy to the dated pavement of San Miniato, we may put it in the early years of the thirteenth century. I consider, also, that the frescoed wall-decoration of the gallery, although much restored, dates originally from about the time of the pavement, as the designs show a strong influence of Oriental textiles.

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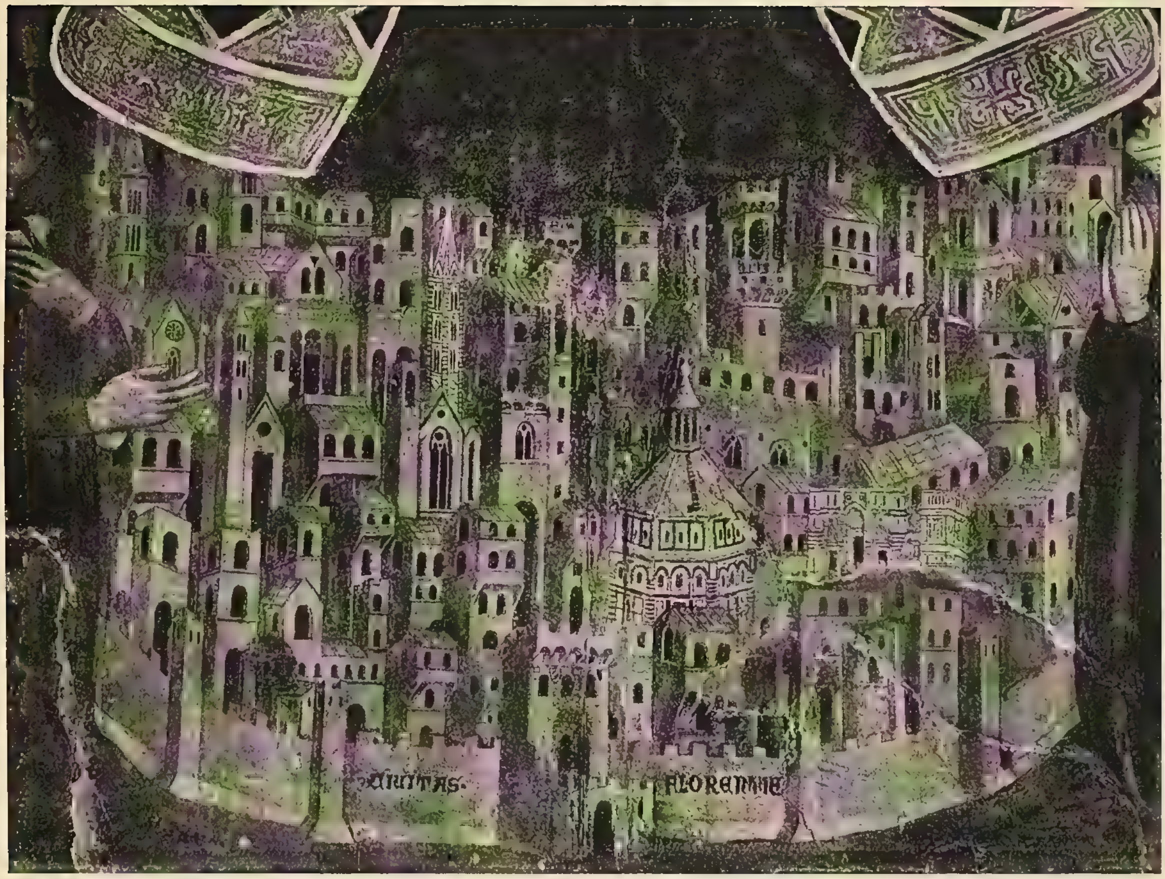
[1] Nardini, *op. cit.*, p. 99; Supino, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

[2] Cf. especially the window over the north door with the lion's heads introduced below the base of the colonnettes (Fig. 4), and which we may suppose served as a model for the similar example in the façade of San Miniato (Fig. 11).

[3] Bk. VIII, chap. XI.

[4] Vasari, in his life of *Arnolfo di Cambio*, would have us believe that this work, and, in fact, a large part of the decoration of the baptistery was carried out by that master, but the style of the work shows that it could not possibly have been done at so late a period.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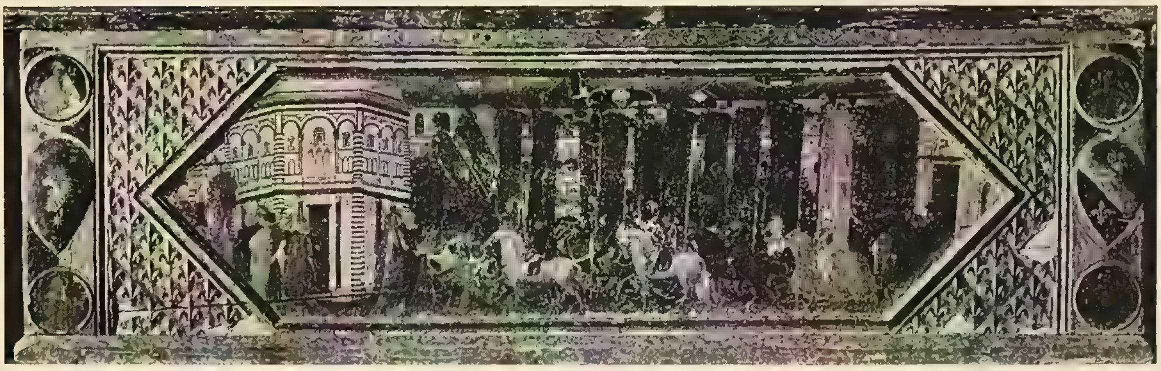
12. The Baptistery, from a Fourteenth-Century Painting in the Bigallo. (Phot. Alinari)



13. The Baptistery, from a Fifteenth-Century Chest in the Bargello. (Phot. Brogi)

In conclusion, I think we may conjecture that little, if any, of the original incrustation remains, but that the building was from the first provided with a similar kind of decoration which was a development from Late Roman traditions, with probably some influence from the East. This would account for the strong classical basis of the earlier work which was modified in the frequent restorations of the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries by new influences from the East by way of Pisa, from Lombardy, and from textile designs. The mosaics of the tribune and dome (Fig. 8), dating from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, are beyond our province.[1]

It is interesting to note that three important early illustrations of the baptistery have been preserved. One of these, a miniature in the *Codice il Biadoiolo*, preserved in the Biblioteca Laurenziana (illustrated in Cocchi, *op. cit.*, p. 56), shows the baptistery rather crudely represented, with many of the details omitted, but in its essential features, with the attic and roof as it is to-day. The second representation is from a fourteenth century painting of the *Madonna della Misericordia* in the Bigallo at Florence (Fig. 12). The third is on a marriage-chest of the early fifteenth century, now in the Bargello (Fig. 13), and shows the building essentially as it is to-day, with the exception of a Gothic canopy over the south door in place of the present group of the Beheading of John the Baptist.

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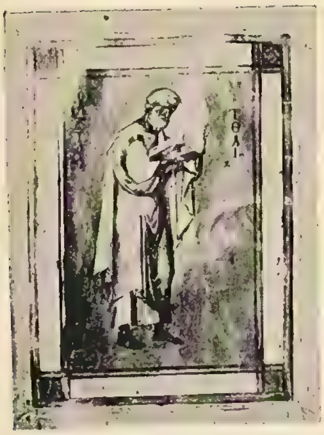
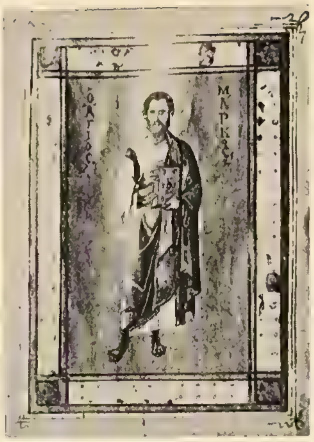
[1] For these mosaics, cf. Venturi, *op. cit.*, vol. V, p. 217 ff.; Van Marle, *The Italian Schools of Painting* (The Hague, 1923), vol. I, p. 262 ff.; Pératé in *Les Arts* (Feb., 1908), p. 8 ff.

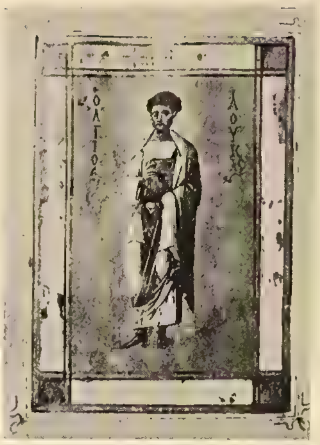
THE PORTRAITS OF THE EVANGELISTS IN GREEK AND LATIN MANUSCRIPTS



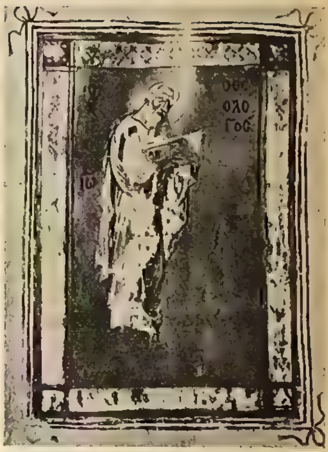
1. Matthew



2. Mark

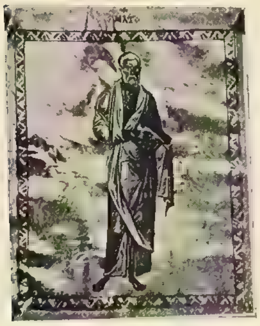


3. Luke

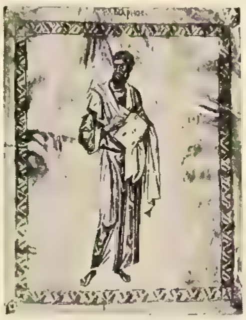


4. John

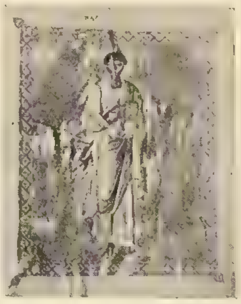
Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Gr. 70.* Gospels. (Arch. Phot. d'Art et d'Histoire)



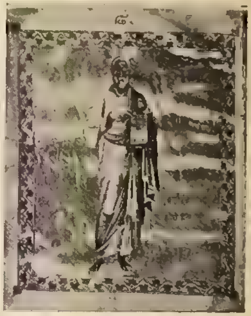
5. Matthew



6. Mark

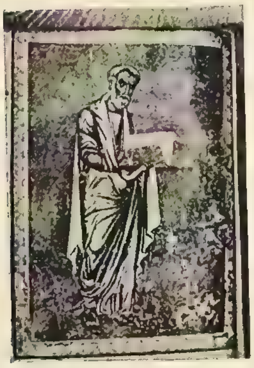


7. Luke

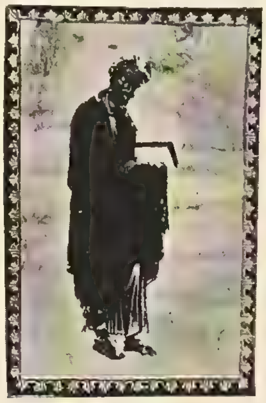


8. John

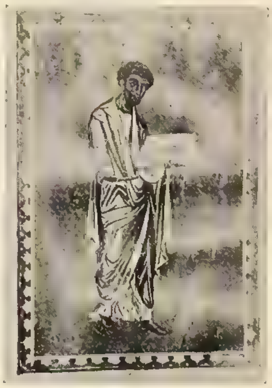
Mt. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catharine, *MS. 204.* (Kondakov, *Hautes Etudes*)



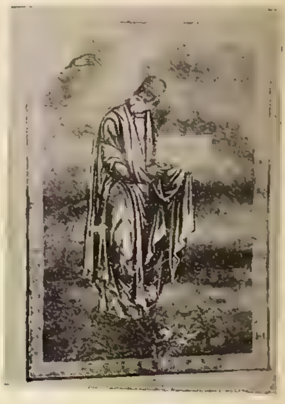
9. Matthew



10. Mark

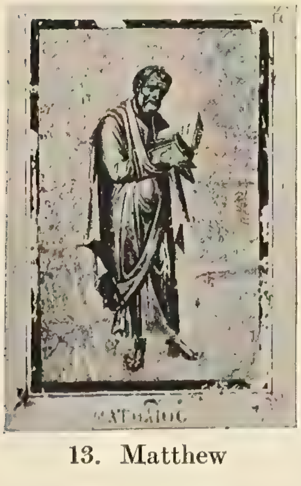


11. Luke

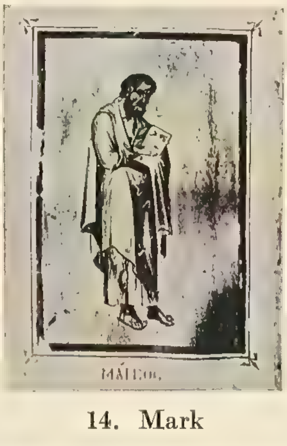


12. John

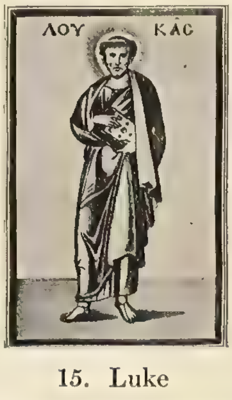
Mt. Athos, Dionysiu, *MS. 8.* (Millet)



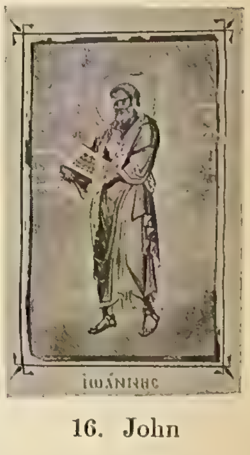
13. Matthew



14. Mark



15. Luke



16. John

Vienna, National Library, *Theol. Gr. 240.* (Gerstinger)

THE PORTRAITS OF THE EVANGELISTS IN GREEK AND LATIN MANUSCRIPTS[1]

By A. M. FRIEND, JR.

INTRODUCTION

PERHAPS no field of scholarship has enlisted so much energy and talent as the study of the origins and transmission of the New Testament. From the time of Lachmann to the present day, to mention only the modern period, the mass of studies on this subject has become well nigh stupendous. It seems that every device and every treatment has been exhausted to get at the fundamental facts and the development of the history of these books. B. H. Streeter in the most recent comprehensive account of the origins of the Four Gospels [2] points out that while students in various specialized branches of research, such as text criticism, source analysis, the cultural background of the Church and the psychology of mysticism have worked at these subjects more or less in isolation, the time is now ripe for a coördination of the several results obtained. Each study to have its full significance must be seen in the perspective of all the others.

Before such a synthesis can produce a true recreation of the past, we must be sure that all the forms of evidence which bear on the Gospels have been collected and thoroughly studied. Such, at present, is not the case, so far, at least, as the manuscript transmission is concerned. While the texts and the scripts of these manuscripts have been scrutinized with great care, the artistic evidence afforded by the illuminations has barely been considered. In the manuscripts of the Gospels, the origins and the descent of various types of text are paralleled by the origins and descent of the types of the accompanying pictures. These pictures are, of course, always an *addition* to the texts, but the connection is of the most intimate sort. From a study of the illuminations much light may be shed on the texts themselves.

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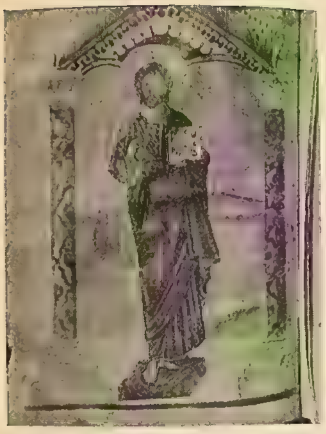
[1] The research for this work has lasted over a number of years and has laid me under heavy obligations to scholars both here and abroad to whom I can, in this place, express my gratitude in but a very meagre fashion. In the final publication my indebtedness will appear in a more dignified and comprehensive manner. In connection with the Greek types I owe the greatest thanks to M. Gabriel Millet of the Collège de France, without whose friendly assistance both in conversations and by photographs the first part of this treatise could not have existed. To my colleague and friend, Professor Charles Rufus Morey, is due my deep gratitude for continuous help and encouragement. To M. Henri Omont of the Bibliothèque Nationale and to Mgr. Giovanni Mercati, Prefect of the Vatican Library, I owe thanks for courteous assistance and permission to consult and photograph essential documents. For help and enlightenment in the matter of textual criticism of the Gospels I wish to thank Professors J. H. Ropes, Kirsopp Lake, and E. K. Rand of Harvard University, Professor H. A. Sanders of Michigan and Professor E. J. Goodspeed of Chicago, all of whom generously gave me much of their time. I am indebted to Sir Frederic Kenyon for help in connection with the problem of the roll and the codex. To the late Professor F. W. Kelsey of Michigan and to Miss Belle DaCosta Greene of the Pierpont Morgan Library I am under obligations for photographs used in the accompanying plates. My special thanks are due the Frick Art Reference Library for prints from negatives belonging to the rich collections of that Institution. In the practical matter of collecting examples, Mlle. Der Nersessian in Paris has been an indefatigable aid. Wm. C. Hayes of Princeton University helped greatly in the study of the origins of architectural backgrounds in Byzantine manuscripts.

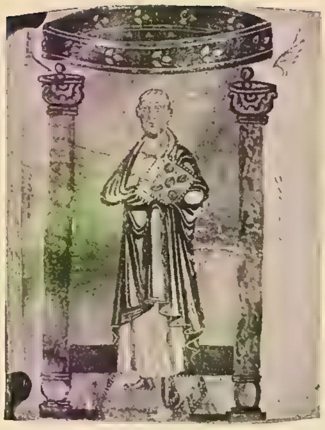
[2] B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels* (New York, 1925), p. xi.

Although at first it may seem strange that such fundamental evidence has so long lain in neglect, there are good reasons why this has been so. Until photography had developed its present efficiency the very materials for study could not be collected. The engravings and reproductions of the past, besides being few in number, were wholly inadequate for study. For this reason also, among others, the criticism and history of Early Christian art are still in their infancy. The highly theoretical and unsubstantial quality of this study can be seen in the latest and best comprehensive account, O. M. Dalton's *East Christian Art.* The powerful Oriental bias in this work given by the force of Strzygowski's theories reflects the present limited and one-sided trend of criticism. The very influx of masses of new and undigested material has for the present almost completely unbalanced our estimate of the art of the early Christian centuries. The textual critics and the paleographers, heirs of an older and sounder scholarship, have, however, neglected artistic evidence owing to the essentially literary bent of their own studies, a tendency which has allowed them to photograph pages of the text of a manuscript but to omit to make a real record of the pictures contained in it. Consequently many manuscripts must be studied over again with proper relation of the pictorial evidence.

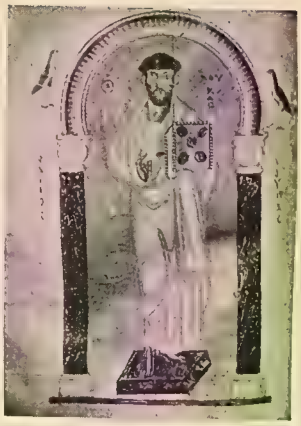
The difficulties of the study of illuminations in manuscripts are now happily being overcome. The foundations of such instruments of research as, for example, the *Iconographic Index of Christian Art* in Princeton University, tend to place the criticism of art on a more secure basis. Consequently we can look forward to more adequate studies of the illumination of great series of manuscripts. These will have the greatest effect upon the history of all texts which have been illustrated in ancient times. No text so embellished can be properly reconstituted without reference to the evidence afforded by these illustrations. This evidence must, however, be so treated that it supplies an independent historical witness. It must not depend upon the related textual and paleographical evidence for its own proof. In the following study of Gospel illustration there will be, therefore, but scant reference to the truly magnificent work done by scholars in these two fields. Again within the specific study of the illuminations of Gospel manuscripts, I will consider only casually that part of it which we call decoration, such as initials, borders, head and tail pieces, and so forth, but will confine myself almost wholly to the illustrations proper — the pictures.



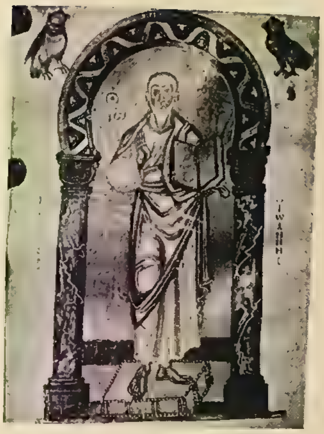
17. Christ



18. Mark

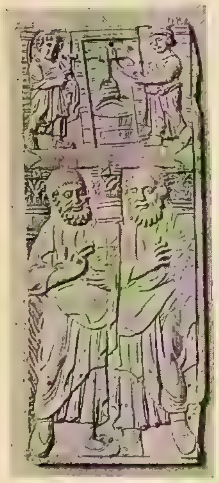


19. Luke



20. John

Mt. Athos, Andreaskita, *MS. 5*



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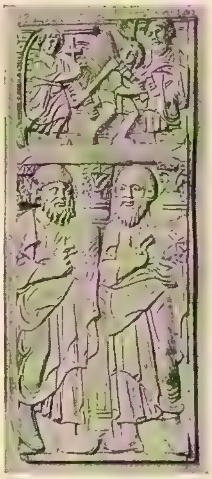
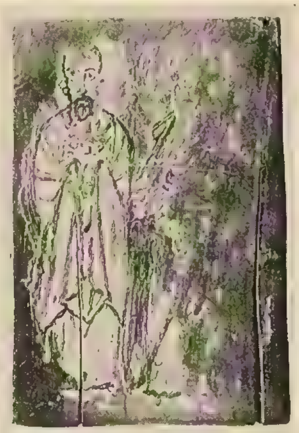
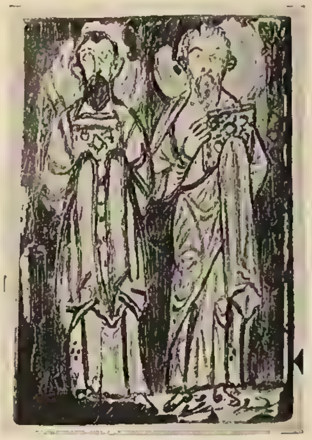


22.

Cambridge, England, Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean Collection. Ivory. Throne

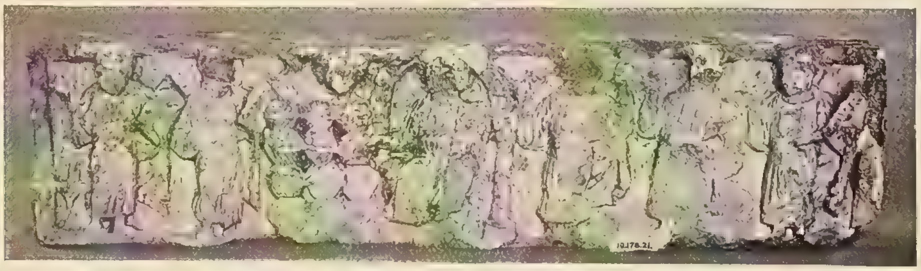


23. Matthew and John

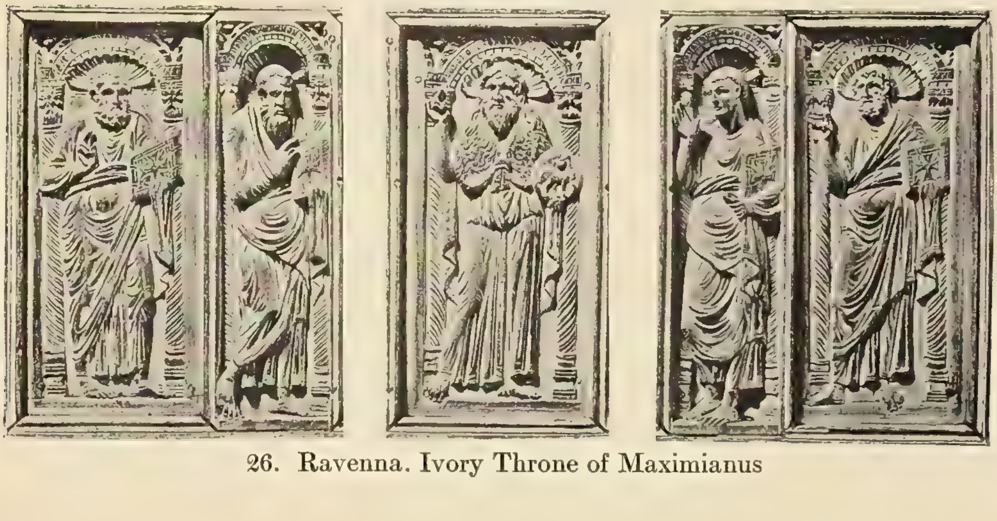


24. Luke and Mark

Washington, Freer Gallery. Covers of the Washington Manuscript of the Gospels. (Morey)



25. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Coptic Relief, Fifth Century. (Metropolitan Museum Phot.)



26. Ravenna. Ivory Throne of Maximianus

THE PORTRAITS OF THE EVANGELISTS

There are two kinds of pictures in Gospel manuscripts: first, the scenes which illustrate a portion of the text such as episodes from the life of Christ; second, the portraits of the Evangelists. The first series has, up to the present, been the subject of much more investigation than the second. The most comprehensive and detailed treatment of Gospel scenes is Millet's *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Evangile,*[1] a monumental work which will always remain fundamental in this most complicated department of Christian iconography.

The study of the *Portraits of the Evangelists* is a problem quite separate from Millet's scenes. As yet there has been no exhaustive treatment of these portraits, although numerous scholars have had something to say about them in connection with other investigations. The more important contributions are by Ficker,[2] Muñoz,[3] Beissel,[4] Strzygowski,[5] Dalton,[6] Baumstark,[7] Buberl,[8] Morey,[9] Wulff,[10] Ebersolt,[11] and Gerstinger,[12] but none of these men has made the portraits of the Evangelists the focus of his study. The following treatise is, therefore, the first attempt to study the series of Evangelist portraits in a comprehensive fashion. I am keenly conscious that in the end the result will be a mere outline which must be filled in and corrected later, a task which I am anticipating, since some years hence I hope to publish a book with a corpus of illustration for the whole subject. This first essay then is offered as an inviting target wherewith to catch welcome criticism for future use. In that way I may be saved from perpetuating fundamental errors in book form.

The difficulty in commanding the material should find record here. While the number of manuscripts with scenes is relatively small, the codices with the portraits of the Evangelists seem innumerable. We shall be swamped by the material unless we find at once the essential types and variants for the classification of our manuscripts. This classification is made more difficult by the lack of whole sections of the material: for instance, of the Gospel books on Mt. Athos which possess portraits of the Evangelists, I have reproductions of less than one-third. Consequently the classifications I am about to offer are subject to modification in the future.

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[1] Gabriel Millet, *Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Evangile aux XIV^e, XV^e, et XVI^e Siècles* (Paris, 1916).

[2] Johannes Ficker, *Die Darstellung der Apostel in der altchristlichen Kunst* (Leipzig, 1887).

[3] Antonio Muñoz, *I Codici Greci miniati delle minori Biblioteche di Roma* (Firenze, 1905).

[4] Stephan Beissel, *Geschichte der Evangelienbücher in der ersten Hälfte des Mittelalters* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1906).

[5] Josef Strzygowski, *Kleinarmenische Miniaturenmalerei* (Tübingen, 1907).

[6] O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (Oxford, 1911), p. 677.

[7] Anton Baumstark, *Zum stehenden Autorenbild der byzantinischen Buchmalerei, Oriens Christianus*, vol. III (*Neue Serie*, 1913) pp. 305–310. Also: *Eine antike Bildkomposition in christlich-orientalischen Umdeutungen, Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft* (1915), vol. VIII, pp. 111–123.

[8] Paul Buberl, *Die Miniaturenhandschriften der Nationalbibliothek in Athen, Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien, Phil. hist. Klasse, Denkschriften. Bd.* 60. (Wien, 1917 [1913]).

[9] Charles R. Morey, *East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection* (New York, 1914).

[10] Oskar Wulff, *Altchristliche und Byzantinische Kunst* (Berlin-Neubabelsberg, 1914).

[11] Jean Ebersolt, *La Miniature Byzantine* (Paris et Bruxelles, 1926).

[12] Hans Gerstinger, *Die griechische Buchmalerei* (Wien, 1926).

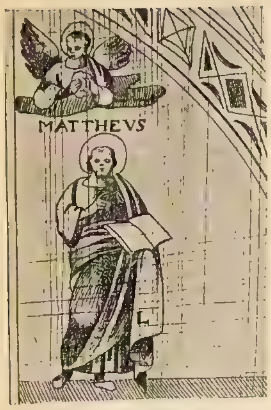
METHOD OF TREATMENT

The following will, perhaps, be more easily read if I explain proleptically the considerations which determined the arrangement and the method of treatment of the subject matter. In justice to myself it is fair to point out that this is the method of the presentation, not of the original investigation.

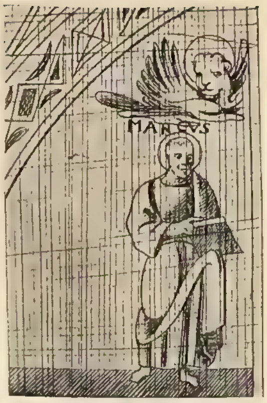
Of the two series of pictures used in the manuscripts of the Gospels, *i.e.*, the portraits of the Evangelists and the scenes illustrating the text, the portraits are by far the more ancient. This stands to reason, since in this series the Christians had nothing to invent, but merely took over the custom, already common in the Hellenistic world, of using a portrait at the head of a book. But, early as the origin of the Evangelist portraits may be, it was all too late for actual portraiture of the men themselves. We are called upon to deal with sets of types which differed in the various centers important enough to have produced pictured manuscripts. This in itself warns us that there is no single original or archetype which might have been generally considered a real portrait of any one of these men and thus controlled all future representation.

When and where these sets of types started is the study of this treatise. If there is no archetype in any case, how many primitive sets are we to expect the painters who worked for the early Christian patrons to have invented? The answer must be that there were several sets of types, the number of which we can never know. Since there was no control by real portraits or archetypes, a characteristic and different set of types may have been made up in each of the centers where pictured Gospel books were made. For our study, however, there is a remedy for this multiplicity and uncertainty. We can know only those primitive sets of Evangelist portraits which were current in the places where Gospel books were copied with a frequency sufficient to insure survival. Such places were the great Hellenistic and Roman cities of the first centuries of our era, centers of literary culture, which made the manufacture of books a normal and necessary industry. Accordingly, the primitive sets of portraits of the Evangelists which had the best chance for perpetuation were those of the great cities where Christianity had centered, such as Alexandria, Ephesus and Antioch in the eastern Mediterranean region, and Rome in the West.

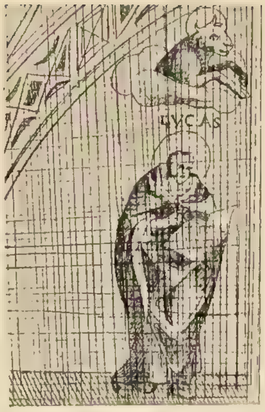
Although there are no known real portraits or archetypes which would have insured uniformity in the representation of the Evangelists, yet, within each great center, the set of types was probably uniform. The tendency would



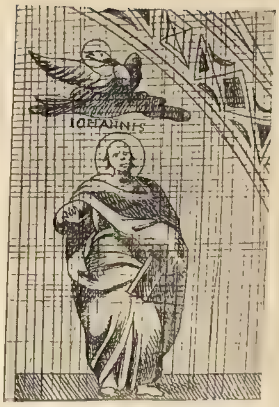
27. Matthew



28. Mark

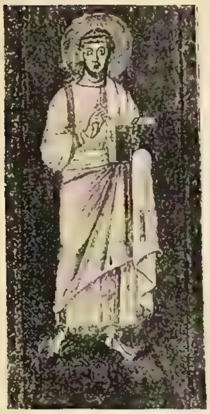


29. Luke



30. John

Rome, Lateran Baptistery, Mosaics. (Ciampini)



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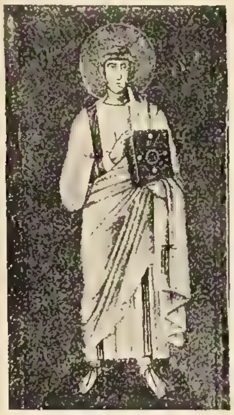

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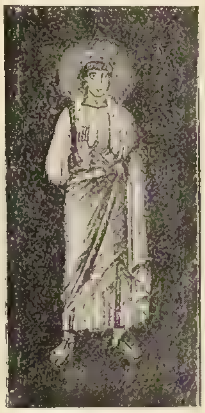

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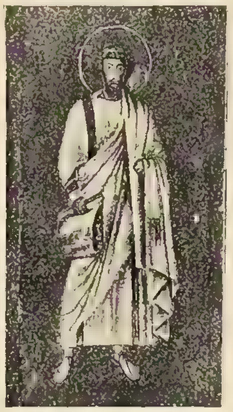

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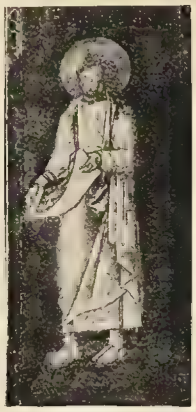

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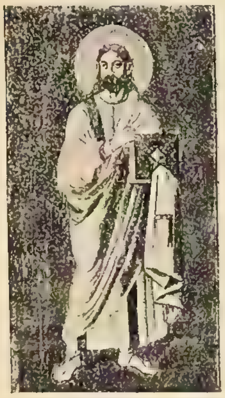

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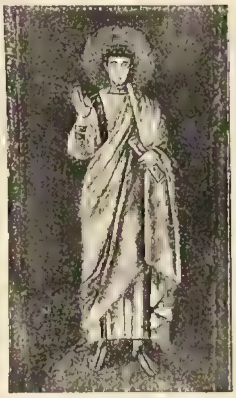

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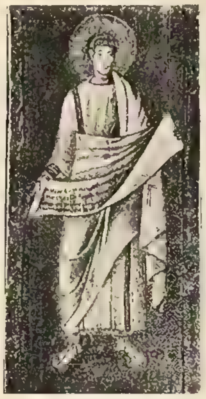

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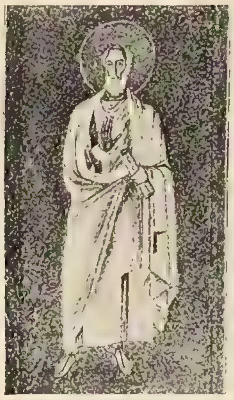

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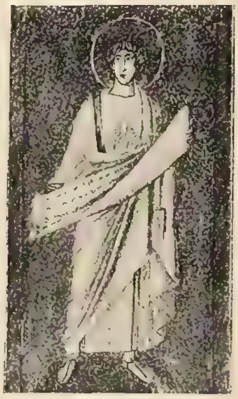

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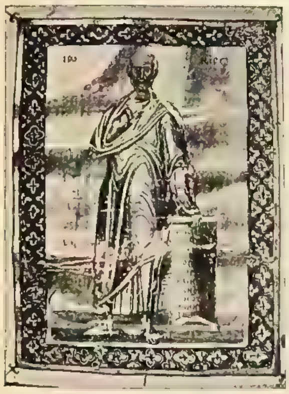
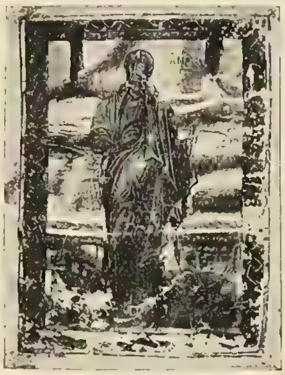
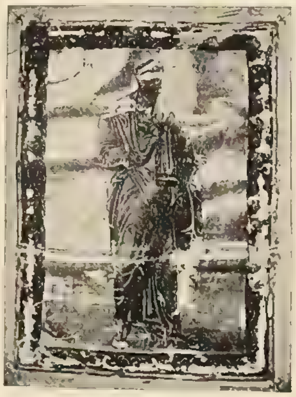
Ravenna, S. Apollinare Nuovo, Mosaics of Nave. (Alinari)



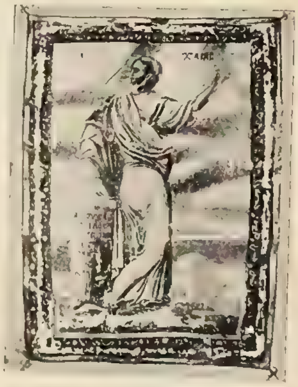
41. Jonah.



42. Amos



43. Joel



44. Micah

Rome, Chigi Library. *Cod. R, VIII, 54, Book of Prophets.* (Muñoz)

naturally be, not to see how many poses and physiognomies could be given to St. John, but to adopt one pose and facial type as the standard for each city. Thus, at the outset of this study of the Evangelist portraits, we can assure ourselves that the number of the original sets of types which could have survived is not likely to be more than the four which were current severally in the chief cities of the ancient world.

The present day historian of illumination in manuscripts is apt to make certain assumptions which I should like to forestall here. First, the study of the portraits of the Evangelists is not a monastic problem. Monasteries and manuscripts have gone so hand in hand that it is difficult to realize that there is no organic connection between them. The Evangelist pictures, however, started too early for monastic foundations of either East or West to have had a part in their formation. As I have said above, it is a question of great book manufacturing centers, which in early Christian times were the Hellenistic cities.

Secondly, the primitive Evangelist types can by no chance be Oriental in origin. They are a specifically classical contribution to Christian art. It would be difficult to see how the absurd contention that certain of these types are of Syro-Mesopotamian origin[1] could have been seriously expressed, if we did not at the same time notice and discount the present prevalent "swing to the Orient" which has begun to invade the writing of history and philosophy in the works of Spengler and Keyserling after dominating the field of Early Christian archaeology by the influence of the writings of Strzygowski, Baumstark, and others. The undue emphasis on the Roman and classical influences in the development of art against which Strzygowski rightly contended was equally wide of the mark. But it hardly afforded as amusing a spectacle as the passionate zeal with which the followers of the Austrian scholar with a seeming distaste for sound method or proof ascribe to the Oriental mind the ideas and the achievements of the Greek world. Strzygowski's growing absorption in the abstract and non-representational arts has gradually removed him as a serious student in the field of the figure arts of sculpture and painting. He is no longer interested in the origin of pictures. It is, therefore, unfair to him and to his school to demand light on a subject which is regarded by them as incidental and relatively unimportant. Iconography, with its quality of the significance of subject matter is too exact a subject to lend itself easily to the larger theories. It has about it a certain homely grubbiness which relates it rather to the foundation than to the decoration of the structure of the history of art. The significant pictures accompanying the Gospels started in Greek manuscripts, however much they are changed, rearranged, emasculated, or improved by the Oriental copyist who, if left to himself, would have used the human figure decoratively or not at all. The core of Byzantine painting is Greek, not Oriental. It is a poor economy and unnecessary to neglect the study of the central tradition in order to enrich ourselves by a knowledge of the fascinating and perpetual "Oriental influences." As we pass the evidence in review, the iconography of the Evangelists will, I think, be seen to be Greek and not "Syro-Mesopotamian."

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[1] Baumstark, *Zum stehenden Autorenbild der byzantinischen Buchmalerei*, p. 309. Also: Gerstinger, *Op. cit.*, p. 32 A.

The portraits of the Evangelists did not originate in the monumental arts such as mosaic and fresco and pass later into the manuscript miniature.[1] Rather, it was the other way around. The portraits started as head pieces and frontispieces of books. This can be proved, I think, by the simultaneous consideration of three pieces of evidence: 1, Christian art is in general a book art. 2, The types in the existing examples in other media are the same ones the manuscripts present. This, by itself, is a poor argument, working both ways. 3, The peculiarities in pose and background of the primitive Evangelist types can, I hold, be explained only by reference to the demands and limitations of the painted manuscript in its two chief forms. In order to make this argument conclusive we must study the questions: 1, of the format of the early manuscripts, whether rolls or codices; 2, of the materials, papyrus and vellum, and 3, of the technique of painting on these materials. The spacing, the composition, and the painting of the pictures in connection with these considerations is the "aesthetic" problem for the book illustrator in antiquity.[2] The study of the solution of this problem is of the greatest value to us for the discovery of the date and provenance of the earliest Evangelist portraits.

I have assumed that there were no real portraits of the Evangelists in antiquity since, as we shall see, the types differ in the several centers. There are, however, certain traditions about the physiognomy of the four Evangelists which may have more than a local currency. John, for instance, is almost always represented as an old man with white hair and beard. The tradition of the aged appearance of this Evangelist is already reflected during the second century in Asia Minor in the account of the portrait recorded in the *Acts of John* by Leucius Charinus.[3] Matthew also is pictured aged, in the same fashion as John. Mark and Luke usually have black hair and shorter beards and appear more youthful, as befits those who are not apostles but belong to the second generation of Christian witnesses. In Greek manuscripts this distribution of physiognomies is so universal that it does not furnish a useful criterion

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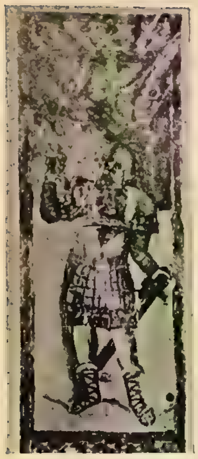
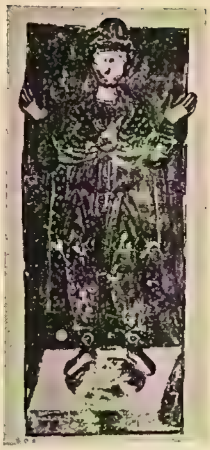
[1] Wulff, *Op. cit.*, p. 533, holds the contrary view.

[2] Gerstinger, *Op. cit.*, p. 10 A.

[3] Th. Zahn, *Acta Joannis* (Erlangen, 1880), p. 224. This is the earliest reference to a portrait of an Evangelist (*circa* 150 A.D.). It is barely possible that one of the existing types may preserve the actual physiognomy of the fourth Evangelist.


45. Joshua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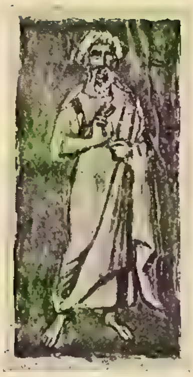
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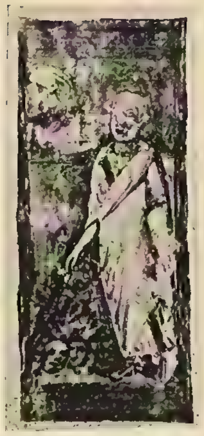
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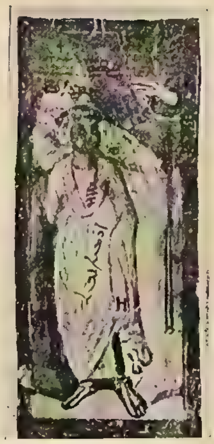
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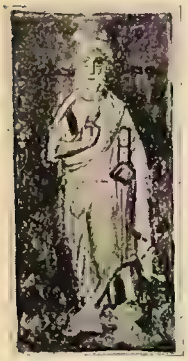
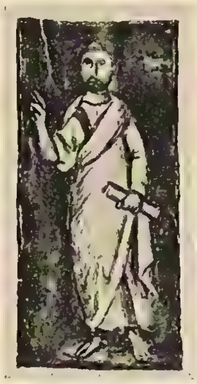
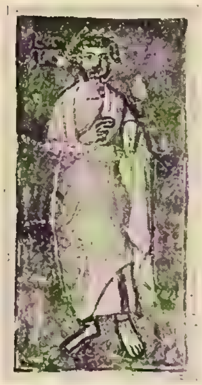
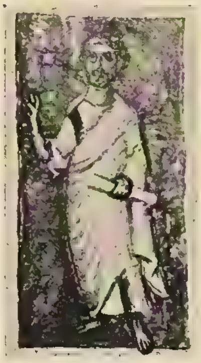
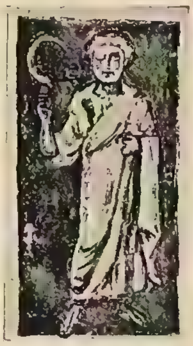
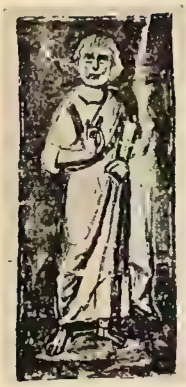

50. Obadiah


51. Nahum


52. Micah


53. Hosea


54. Zechariah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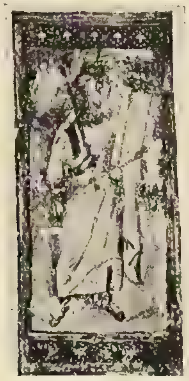
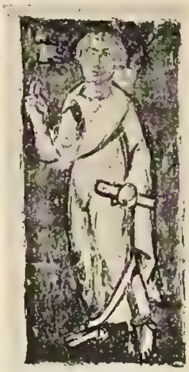
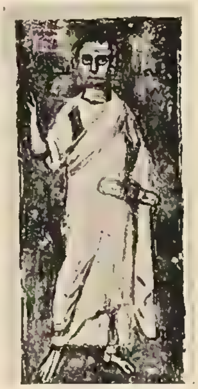
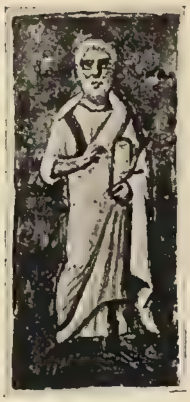
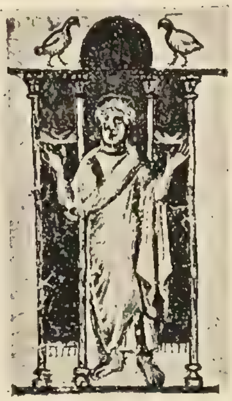
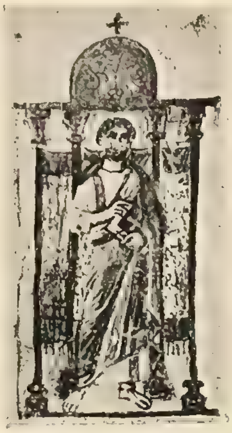

56. Moses


57. Zephaniah


58. Jonah


59. Joel


60. Esdras


61. Jesus, Son of Sirach

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Syr. 341.* Old Testament. (Omont, *Monuments Piot*)

for grouping the Evangelist portraits. However it does show how ancient the tradition may be for the differentiation of Matthew and John, the apostles, from Mark and Luke, who could claim no such authority. This neat division in rank by means of facial types confirms our suspicion that behind the extant pictures of the Evangelists there were *no real portraits* as archetypes. In this treatise more useful criteria for the classification of the existing pictures are 1, the pose of the figure, and 2, the background. On the basis, therefore of *the combination of pose and background*, I have constructed the groups of material to be used in the following discussion.

THE GREEK MANUSCRIPTS

The Gospels were originally written in Greek for Greek-speaking peoples. We should not at first look for the original text of the Gospels in the translations; consequently, we ought not to seek the primitive pictures which accompanied the Gospels in manuscripts of the Versions, until the Greek manuscripts have been thoroughly examined. As we shall see, the manuscripts of the Versions, in all save a few important instances, are reflections of the original Greek in the pictures as well as in the text. The primitive types of the Evangelist portraits are therefore more likely to have been preserved by copying in Greek manuscripts than in any others.

Our first business, then, is to examine the copies of the portraits of the Evangelists contained in the existing Greek manuscripts of the Gospels. Here, at once, the task appears gigantic. First, there is the embarrassment of numbers to which I have alluded above. Most of the later manuscripts have never been published, nor have I as yet had the time to take the trips to see and to photograph them. To complete simply the necessary corpus of illustration is a labor of several years, well worth the doing, if only to consolidate the classifications to be outlined below.

Imbedded in this mass of material are not only the primitive types of portraits but also the medieval ones, since, in spite of the general conception, Byzantine iconography was not wholly static. To distinguish clearly between the ancient and medieval types, or to see how the medieval ones adapt the ancient requires not only considerable critical ability, but first of all the corpus of photographic examples mentioned above. Only by the comparison of great series of portraits does the truth fall out.

Furthermore, we are confronted with the discouraging fact that no Greek manuscript containing the portraits of the Evangelists and dating earlier than the tenth century has been preserved except one, the famous *Codex Rossanensis*. In this book, only one of the four Evangelist portraits has survived, that of Mark (Fig. 107). All the famous early codices such as the *Vaticanus*, the *Sinaiticus*, the *Alexandrinus*, and others used to establish the Greek Gospel text, are devoid of illustration. This readily accounts for the neglect of the pictorial evidence by textual critics and by paleographers. The *Codex Rossanensis* itself was made far from the great centers of early illumination. The most competent opinion[1] places its origin in Cappadocia. It is, speaking iconographically, crude and a product of the hinterland. The pictures are badly copied, depth is lost, scale mismanaged, features exaggerated or omitted. Much interpretation is needed before we can use even this solitary example as evidence.

Luckily the earliest surviving manuscripts do not necessarily present the best witness to the original pictures, nor the later ones the worst. The worth of a manuscript copy depends not so much upon its age as upon its pedigree. The considerations which are important are really two: 1, the number of copyings which separate the extant manuscript from the original; 2, the ability of the copyist at each of these transmissions. It is clear that a clumsy or imaginative artist can almost completely deform a picture type in one copying. On the other hand, accurate copyists could transmit the same type in almost all its purity through generations of transmission. In lieu of the lost ancient manuscripts containing the portraits of the Evangelists we must turn to those we have. Which part of this mass of material will best serve our purpose? Clearly the group of manuscripts which are the earliest in date since it is likely that there are fewer copies between these and the originals, and consequently less chances for deformation of the types. At the same time, this group must contain a number of examples of the Evangelist portraits sufficient for a comparison of types, leading to the discovery of the older prototypes responsible for the similarities.

Consequently we shall start our examination of the evidence with the Gospel manuscripts of the splendid period of Byzantine illumination known as the Macedonian Renaissance, from the dynasty ruling in Constantinople from the last quarter of the ninth century to the middle of the eleventh. The efflorescence of literature and art, particularly of book illustration, started in Constantinople under the strong rule of Basil I, the Macedonian, and continued through the reigns of Leo the Wise and Constantine VII, Porphyrogenitus, on into the eleventh century. After the reign of Basil II there is a decided decline. A second wave of production took place under the auspices of the Comnenian family, 1081–1185 A.D. It is consequently frequently called the Comnenian Renaissance.[2] This period is very valuable for its rich *répertoire* of medieval iconographic types.

The surviving manuscripts of the Macedonian Renaissance were magnificently illustrated and painted under imperial patronage by the most skilled

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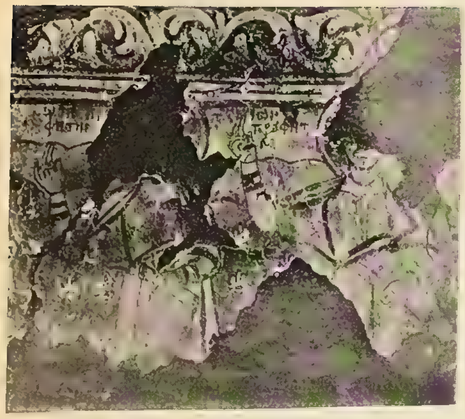
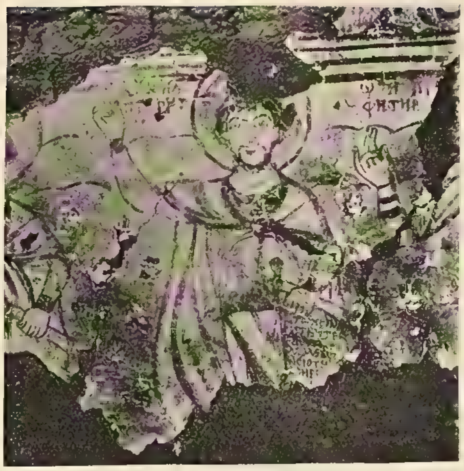
[1] Millet, *Op. cit.*, p. 557.

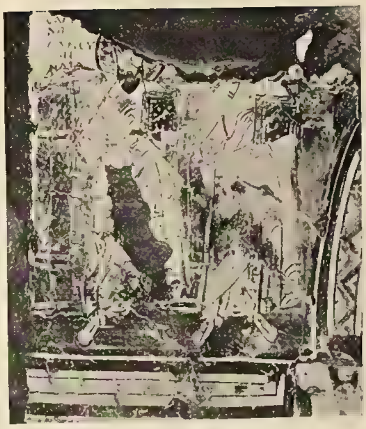
[2] Diehl, *Manuel d'Art byzantin, Livre* III (Paris, 1925).



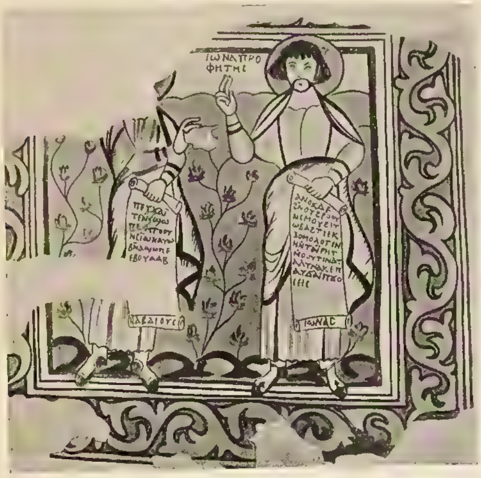
62. Hosea. Joel. Chapel XII



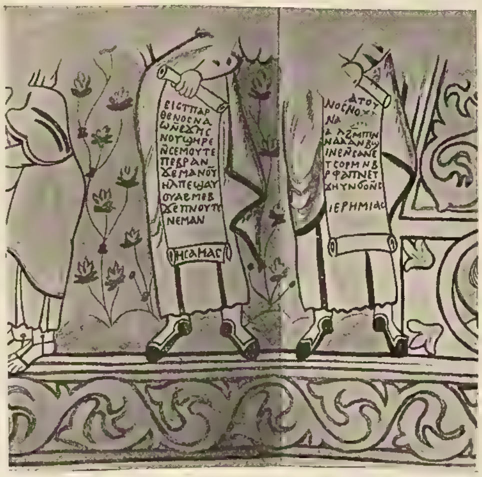
63. Daniel. Chapel XII



64. St. Apa Pamoun.
Chapel XXVIII

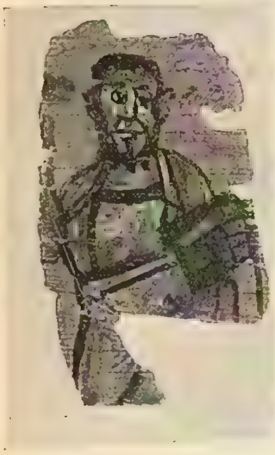


65. Obadiah. Jonah. Chapel XII

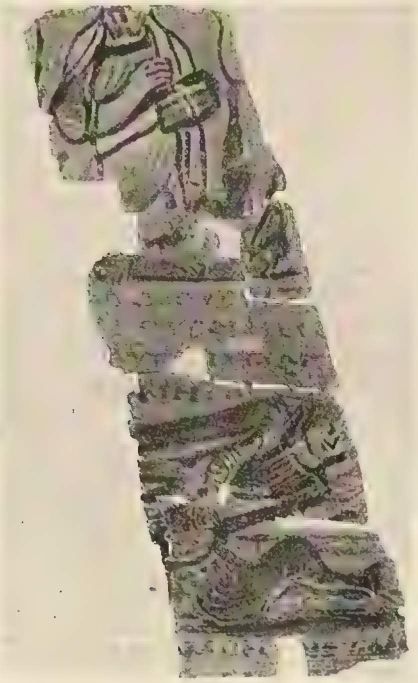


66. Isaiah. Jeremiah. Chapel XII

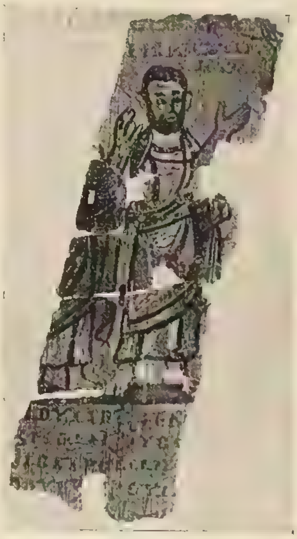
Bawît, Monastery and Necropolis, Frescoes. (J. Clédat)



67. Zacharias



68. Obadiah (above). Jonah (below)



69. Nahum

Petrograd, Golenisheff Collection. Alexandrian World Chronicle, Greek Papyrus Manuscript (Bauer and Strzygowski)

illuminators Greek painting has to show. The Emperor Constantine VII was himself no mean painter,[1] and the chief scriptorium may well have been in the Sacred Palace. The chief manuscripts of the period are very famous, *e.g.*, the *Paris Psalter* (Bibl. Nat. *Gr. 139*), the Bible of the Vatican (*Reg. Gr. 1*), and the *Homilies of Gregory Nazianzus* (Paris, Bibl. Nat. *Gr. 510*). This last was written and illuminated for Basil I near the end of his reign († 886). The illuminated Gospel manuscripts of the period are not so well known. Some of the most important are published herewith for the first time. They will be seen to equal in splendor and aesthetic value the manuscripts mentioned above. The sets of frontispiece portraits contained in these Gospel manuscripts form the nucleus of the material which, when properly treated, has the best chance of yielding us the knowledge of the primitive types of Evangelist pictures.

To trace the set of types contained in this material back to early Christian times is so important a critical process that I may be allowed a few more words in preparation for the experiment. The style of painting may differ greatly from one set of portraits to the next. This need not disturb us if only the pose of the figures and the kinds of backgrounds are kept similar. We are not tracing the development of style but the descent of iconographic types. An analogy with the methods used in the study of the text of the Gospels may help here. The textual critic is concerned with the descent of types of text, not with the styles of handwriting found in his manuscripts. It is the business of paleography to draw conclusions from these.

In our search for the primitive types of the Evangelist portraits, the evidence afforded by the tenth and eleventh century manuscripts can be controlled in the following ways: 1, by comparison with the types in earlier manuscripts, be they Greek or those of the Versions; 2, by comparison with the representations in other media, ivories, mosaics, and so forth, which date earlier than our manuscripts; 3, by the use of the critical expedient of stemmata. The last can be explained as follows: if two fairly contemporary manuscripts show the same types and yet are not copied one from the other, we must perforce assume the existence of prototypes more ancient than either. In this way we may construct a pedigree, a family tree or stemma for the descent of a type, thus working back up the centuries of transmission to the primitive original.

Sets of Evangelist Portraits in Greek Manuscripts

In the Byzantine Gospel manuscripts of the tenth and eleventh centuries, two general sets of types of the portraits of the Evangelists occur with a sameness and a frequency which betoken authority and long practice.

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[1] Diehl, *Op. cit.*, p. 395.

1. The set of standing types (Plates I–VII). These show the Evangelist, clad in the *chiton* and *himation,* standing in frontal position, his weight carried on one leg, the other leg bent in an easy rhythm. This is a standard pose for classical standing figures (Fig. 163). In the left hand, the Evangelist holds a codex usually closed but sometimes displayed open. The feet are sandalled. There is no background behind the figure, that is to say that although the Evangelist may stand on a narrow ledge of ground, there is never behind him any landscape or architecture. There is no "setting." In the examples illustrated there can be seen a type where the Evangelist turns to the right in profile and seems to read from his open codex.

2. The set of seated types (Plates VIII–XVIII). In these the Evangelist is seated on a bench or chair. In front of him is a more or less elaborate desk. He is represented either in a pensive attitude (usually Matthew and John) or is engaged in the more active pursuit of writing (Mark and Luke). By the nature of the pose the Evangelist is represented in profile usually facing to the right. Sometimes he may be in three-quarters pose. The type of the background is here totally different from that accompanying the standing types. It is composed of rather ornate and enclosing architecture. It seems as if the Evangelist were set in front of an elaborate building with columns, *exedrae,* doorways, and so forth.

In the manuscripts of the Gospels the portraits, whether standing or seated, are used as frontispieces. They are either grouped in the front of the codex on four separate pages, or are distributed through the book, each as the frontispiece for a Gospel. The standing set of types gives by nature a vertical, narrow, oblong-shaped picture. The seated set gives, of course, a wider, square-shaped miniature.

Standing Types (Alexandria)

The chief manuscripts of the Gospels which date in the period of the Macedonian Renaissance and contain the standing portraits of the Evangelists are the following:

1. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Gr. 70.*[1] This manuscript belongs without dispute to the tenth century. The style of the painted portraits and of the borders of the pictures would impose this date, even if we disregarded the note in fifteenth century handwriting on the last folio (392) which dates the manuscript A.D. 964. The four portraits of the Evangelists (Figs. 1–4) are singularly noble in attitude and recall, as Ebersolt[2] suggests, the standing orator statues of antiquity. In this manuscript two of the portraits, Mark and Luke,

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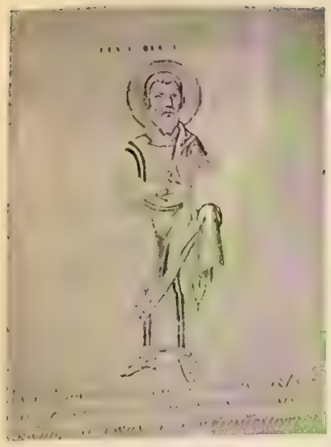
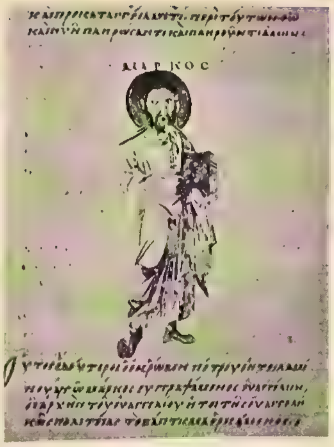
[1] Ebersolt, *Op. cit.,* p. 33 and Pl. XXX; Labarte, *Histoire des Arts Industriels,* vol. II, p. 179, pl. LXXXIV.

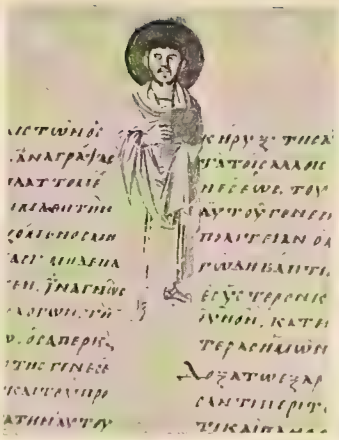
[2] Ebersolt, *Op. cit.,* p. 82, notice 32.



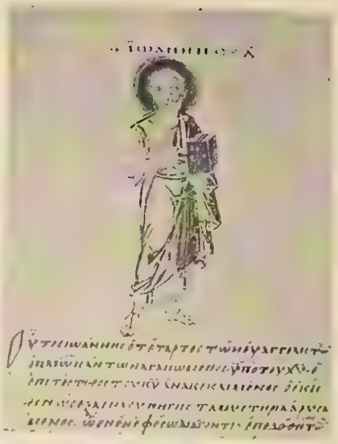
70. Matthew



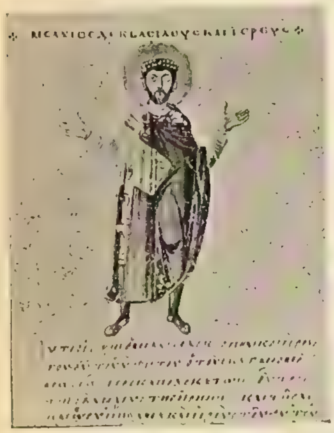
71. Mark



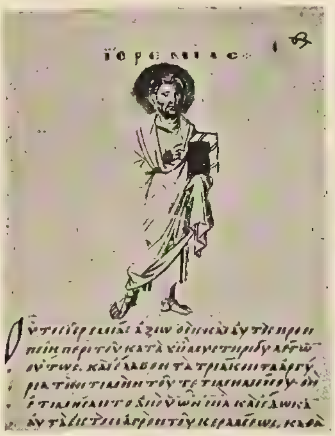
72. Luke



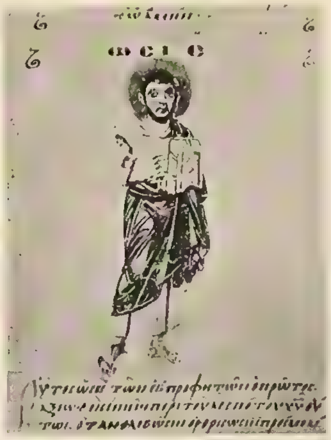
73. John



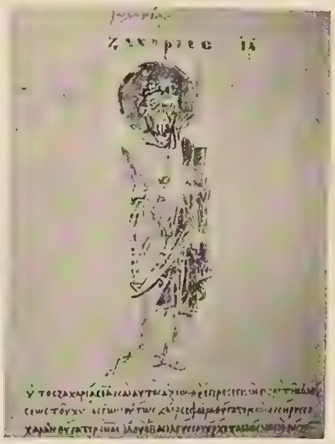
74. Melchizedek



75. Jeremiah

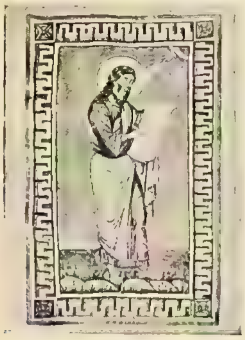


76. Hosea

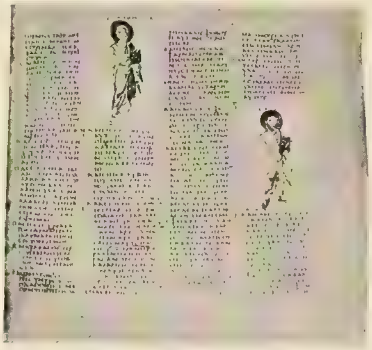


77. Zechariah

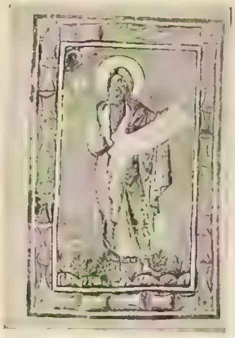
Rome, Vatican Library. *Cod. Gr. 699, Cosmas Indicopleustes.* (Stornajolo)



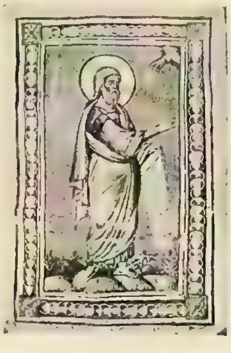
79. Haggai. Rome, Vatican Library. *Cod. Gr. 1153.* (Muñoz)



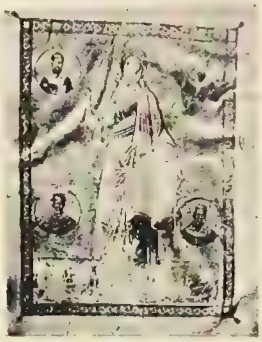
78. Origin of Standing Portrait Types in Manuscripts



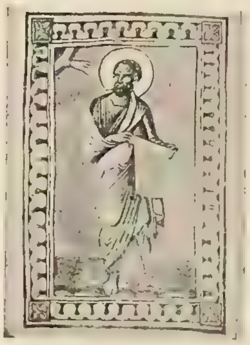
80. Zechariah. Rome, Vatican Library. *Cod. Gr. 1153.* (Muñoz)



81. Amos. Rome, Vatican Library. *Cod. Gr. 1153.* (Muñoz)



83. Isaiah. Rome, Vatican Library. *Cod. Gr. 755.* Book of Isaiah. (Muñoz)



82. Obadiah. Rome, Vatican Library. *Cod. Gr. 1153.* (Muñoz)

are in frontal position, while the other two are shown in profile, walking to the right. The backgrounds behind all four figures are plain gold.

2. Mt. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine, *MS. 204*.[1] This manuscript is dated by Gardthausen[2] as early as A.D. 995. It is certainly later in style than Paris, *Gr. 70*. The four Evangelists (Figs. 5–8) show, all of them, the frontal pose. The position is very easily and gracefully held. In some cases it tends to become a three-quarters position. In addition to the portraits of the Evangelists, in this manuscript there are also found standing figures of Christ,[3] the Virgin Mary,[4] and St. Peter the Ascetic,[5] each on a separate folio. All these figures are displayed against a plain gold background.

3. Vienna, National Library, *Theol. Gr. 240*.[6] This Gospel book is dated by Gerstinger[7] in the tenth century. In style and technique the Evangelist portraits (Figs. 13–16) are extremely close to those of Paris, *Gr. 70*. Only one of them, however, is in frontal position (Luke). The others march in a profile pose, either to the right or to the left. A peculiarity of this manuscript which it shares with no other example of the standing portraits, is seen in the backgrounds employed behind the figures. Scratched into the usual plain gold surface are representations of both landscape and architecture. This use of a "setting" is a borrowing or contamination from the backgrounds of the seated Evangelist portraits which we shall meet later.

4. Mt. Athos, Dionysiu, *MS. 8*. This manuscript[8] (a New Testament) is later in date than the other three we have considered. It was probably written and painted in the twelfth century. The types and poses of the Evangelist portraits (Figs. 9–12) are familiar. What is noteworthy is the persistence with which the Evangelists turn and move towards the right. This peculiar feature will call for more discussion later. Note also the hand of God above John. The addition of this detail shows a contamination from the famous picture of John and Prochoros used frequently in the eleventh century in association with the seated types which we shall consider.

5. Mt. Athos, Andreaskita, *MS. 5*,[9] (now in a private collection in America). The text of this manuscript is later than the pictures which have been

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[1] Johann Georg, Herzog zu Sachsen, *Das Katharinenkloster am Sinai*, (Leipzig und Berlin, 1912), pp. 22, 23 and *Taf.* X.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 22.

[3] Millet, *L'Art Byzantin*, in André Michel, *Histoire de l'Art*, vol. I^{a}, Fig. 153.

[4] Heinrich Gluck, *Die christliche Kunst des Ostens* (Berlin, 1923), Pl. 67.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Rudolf Beer, *Les principaux Manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Impériale de Vienne*, pp. 9, 45, and pl. VI. (*Bulletin de la Société Française de Reproductions de Manuscrits à Peintures, 3^{e} Année*, No. 1, Paris 1913.)

[7] Gerstinger, *Op. cit.*, p. 32 B and Pls. IX, XI.

[8] Heinrich Brockhaus, *Die Kunst in den Athos-Klöstern* (Leipzig, 1891), pp. 183, 211 and *Taf.* 21. Spyridon P. Lambros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, vol. I, p. 319.

[9] I owe the permission to publish these photographs to Mr. Robert Garrett of Baltimore. Cf. Wulff, *Op. cit.*, p. 533 and *Abb.* 465.

cut down and inserted. They have been dated in the ninth or tenth century by Muñoz,[1] and are among the most remarkable in the history of Byzantine illumination both for refinement in drawing and delicacy of color. The full page frontispieces show the standing figures of Christ (Fig. 17), the Virgin Mary, and three of the Evangelists (Figs. 18–20). Matthew is missing. All the Evangelists stand in the frontal pose. John holds his book open, displayed. The backgrounds are neutral gold. (The architectural frames are never an integral part of the picture proper and are not to be considered as a part of the background. They are decorative additions to the original picture.)

The similarities of poses and backgrounds between all these Evangelist portraits make us conscious of a controlling set of standing types, the origins of which I shall now attempt to explain. Did these types exist before the tenth century? If so, where were they current? Since there are no Greek manuscripts with standing Evangelists earlier than this period we must perforce marshal the earlier representations of this type in the manuscripts of the Versions and in other media such as mosaics, ivories, stone reliefs, and so forth. I shall describe six representations of the standing Evangelists dating before the tenth century:

1. *Gospels of Rabula.* Laurentian Library, Florence. *MS. I, 56.*[2] The manuscript was written in Syriac, and illuminated at Zagba, Mesopotamia in A.D. 586. In this codex only two of the Evangelists stand. The other two are seated. This uncertainty of pose should warn us that we are in the presence of a mixed tradition. At least it does not allow us to use this manuscript at this place as evidence for the provenance of the standing types. It adds its contribution, however, on the score of dating. About the *Gospels of Rabula* much will be said in the discussion of the portraits which accompanied the Syriac version of the Gospels.

2. Ivory panels from a throne, now in the McClean Collection in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, England (Figs. 21–22). O. M. Dalton, in his publication of these ivories,[3] dates them in the sixth century and calls them Egyptian or Syrian. To-day they would be ascribed without hesitation to Coptic Egyptian art. The slippers on the feet of the Evangelists together with the general considerations of style make this ascription sure.

3. The painted book covers of the Washington manuscript of the Gospels (Figs. 23–24). These are now detached from the codex and preserved in the Freer Gallery, Washington, D. C. C. R. Morey first published these portraits,

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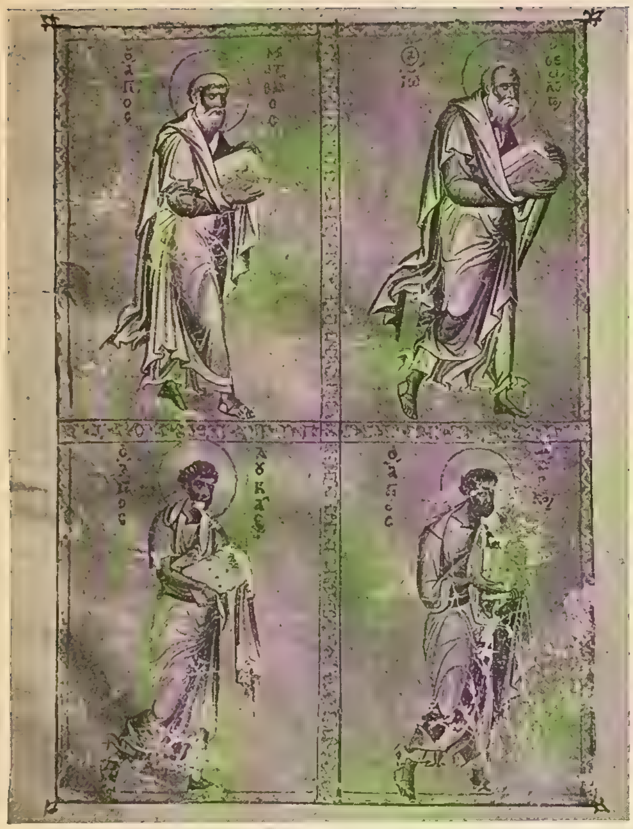
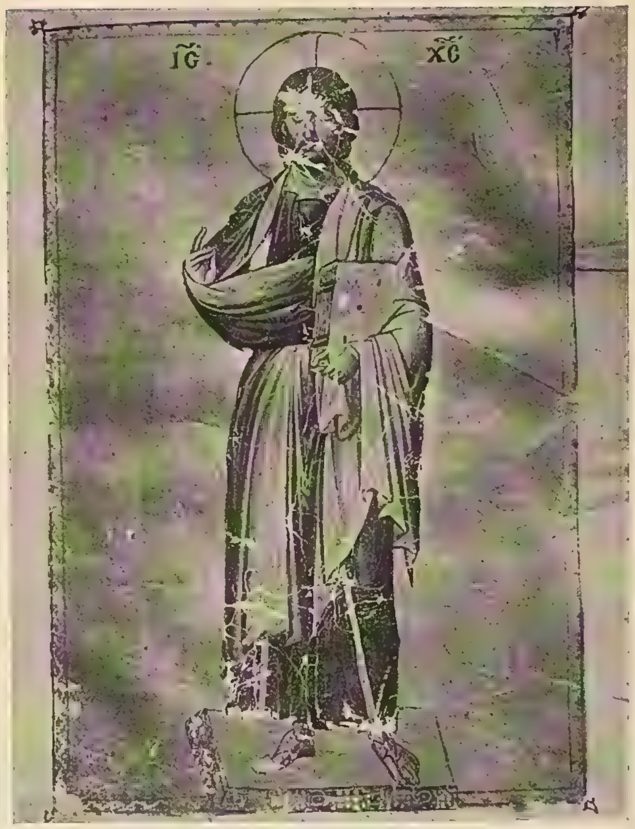
[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

[2] Photographs, *Hautes Etudes* (Venturi) c. 1397, c. 1398. Garrucci, *Storia dell'Arte cristiana* (Prato, 1876) vol. III, Pls. 135, 136. Gerstinger, *Op. cit.*, *Abb.* 12.

[3] O. M. Dalton, *Fitzwilliam Museum, McClean Bequest, Catalogue of the Mediaeval Ivories, etc.*, pp. 84–87 and Pl. IV.

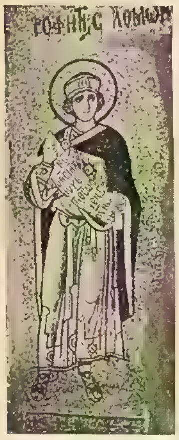


84. Fol. 11v.

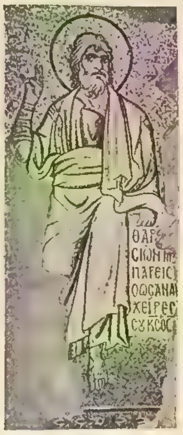


85. Fol. 12

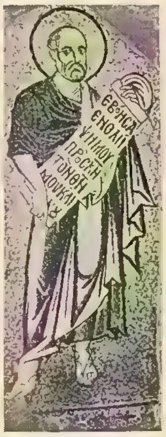
Rome, Vatican Library, *Gr. 756*. (Sansaini)



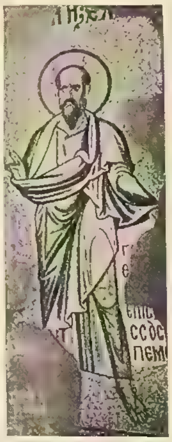
86. Solomon



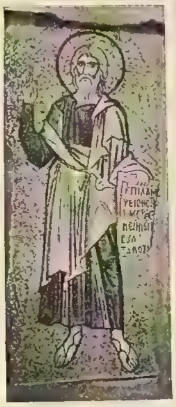
87. Zephaniah



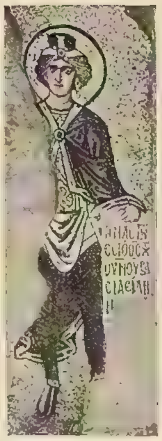
88. Jonah



89. Elijah

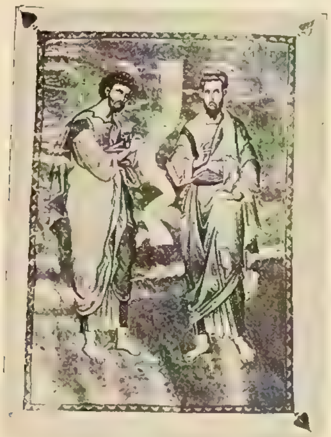


90. Isaiah

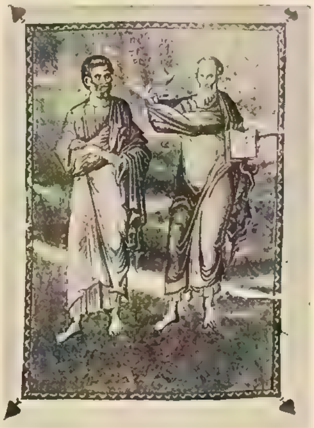


91. Daniel

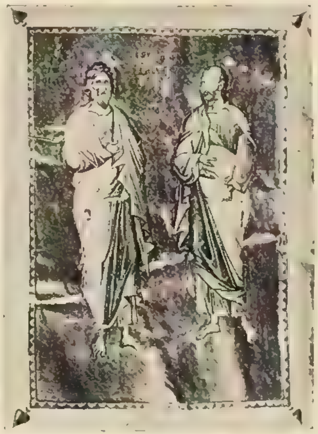
Mosaics from the Monastery of Daphni. (Millet, *Le Monastère de Daphni*)



92. Luke James



93. Peter John



94. Jude Paul

Rome, Vatican Library, *Gr. 1208*. (Sansaini)

showing that they were made in Coptic Egypt during the seventh century.[1] Since these covers are painted they form a very valuable link with manuscript illumination. They might almost be considered as the best witness we have that standing Evangelist portraits formed part of the decoration of Greek codices of the Gospels in Egypt before the tenth century. The covers, being an addition to an unillustrated manuscript, were painted with the customary standing types of portraits to make good the pictorial deficiency. It is worthy of notice that, contrary to the usual custom in Byzantine Evangelist portraits, Mark is here represented as an old man with grey hair and beard. The backgrounds are neutral as usual.

4. Stone relief in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, No. 10.176.21 (Fig. 25). The scene represented is the Multiplication of the Loaves. Christ is seated under an *aedicula*. To the right of Him is an angel. Above the baskets is a second angel. Flanking the scene on either side are two standing Evangelists. Morey [2] says that this relief can hardly be later than the fifth century and is the earliest Coptic monument depicting the Evangelists.

5. The ivory throne of Maximianus in Ravenna.[3] The face of the throne (Fig. 26) shows a standing figure of John the Baptist flanked by two standing Evangelists on either side. These examples are very valuable for us since, instead of the static frontality of the Coptic examples we see here the movement and flow which betokens better and classical Greek models. E. Baldwin Smith has shown, I think conclusively,[4] that this splendid piece of ivory carving was made in Alexandria in the sixth century, at the latest.

6. Mosaics in the Chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Lateran Baptistery, Rome.[5] These mosaics are now destroyed but a pictorial record of them is to be found in Ciampini, *Vetera Monimenta, pars prima, tab. LXXV* (Figs. 27–30). From the evidence of this engraving two of the figures of the Evangelists (Luke and John) were remade sometime in the period of the Baroque. They are, at least, totally different in style from the other two. That Matthew and Mark were in their primitive state at the time the engraving was made is proved by the presence of the "musical note" on the *pallium* of Matthew. These mosaics were made for Pope Hilary who reigned A.D. 461–468.[6] Matthew holds an open book displayed, such as we noted in the hands of John, Andreaskita *MS. 5* (Fig. 20). The background of these mosaics is the customary neutral one. The Symbols of the Evangelists are

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[1] C. R. Morey, *Op. cit.*, pp. 63–81, Pls. XII, XIII.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 66, 67.

[3] Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, pp. 204–207.

[4] E. Baldwin Smith, *The Alexandrian Origin of the Chair of Maximianus* (*American Journal of Archaeology*, vol. XXI, 1917, pp. 22–37).

[5] Joseph Wilpert, *Die römischen Mosaiken und Malereien*, vol. II, p. 730.

[6] Ciampini, *Vetera Monimenta* (Roma, 1690), *Pars Prima*, p. 241.

an addition always made to the portraits in the Latin West, as we shall see when we come to deal with those monuments.

We are now in a position to state that our standing types of Evangelist portraits were current as early as the fifth century. The preponderance of evidence for provenance points to Egypt, since four of the six extant examples which date before the tenth century can be shown to have had this country as their source.

Standing types of portraits in Byzantine manuscripts are not confined to those of the four Evangelists. In the codices of the Prophets which belong to the period of the Macedonian Renaissance we see, at the head of each book of Prophecy, the standing figure of the Prophet himself, very much in the pose of the Evangelists. In the majority of cases he holds a scroll instead of a codex. The background is always neutral. The best examples of these portraits of the Prophets are found in an eleventh century codex in the Vatican Library, Chigi, *Cod. R. VIII. 54*,[1] (Figs. 41–44), and in *Cod. Gr. 755* of the same library, which dates in the tenth century.[2] In the older of these two manuscripts the figure of Isaiah (Fig. 83) resembles in pose the Evangelists on the Coptic relief in New York (Fig. 25). The figure of Joel in the Chigi manuscript (Fig. 43) is surprisingly like that of Matthew in the *Gospels of Sinai* (Fig. 5). The chief difference, of course, is that *the Prophet holds a scroll in each case instead of a codex*. The backgrounds behind the Prophets are neutral gold.

In the Vatican Library is another Codex of the Prophets, *Cod. Gr. 1153*, which Muñoz [3] dates in the twelfth century. The portraits of the Prophets in this book (Figs. 79–82) resemble closely the types we know, except that every attempt has been made to render the portraits in a more lively and picturesque fashion. The sculptural severity of pose usual in the tenth and eleventh century examples is sacrificed to produce a semblance of action and life. The Prophet turns and is inspired by the hand of God in the corner. The ground on which he stands is undulating and has sprouted a carpet of flowers and plants. But the background has been kept neutral. In this manuscript it is always a strong blue. Thus in later Byzantine illumination with its tendency to add picturesque details the *painter did not dare to change the traditional neutral background which had always accompanied the standing portraits.*

As was the case with the Evangelists, we find that the series of standing Prophet portraits is also older than the tenth century. In the Coptic frescoes of the seventh century at Bawit [4] we find fragments of the cycle (Figs. 62–66).

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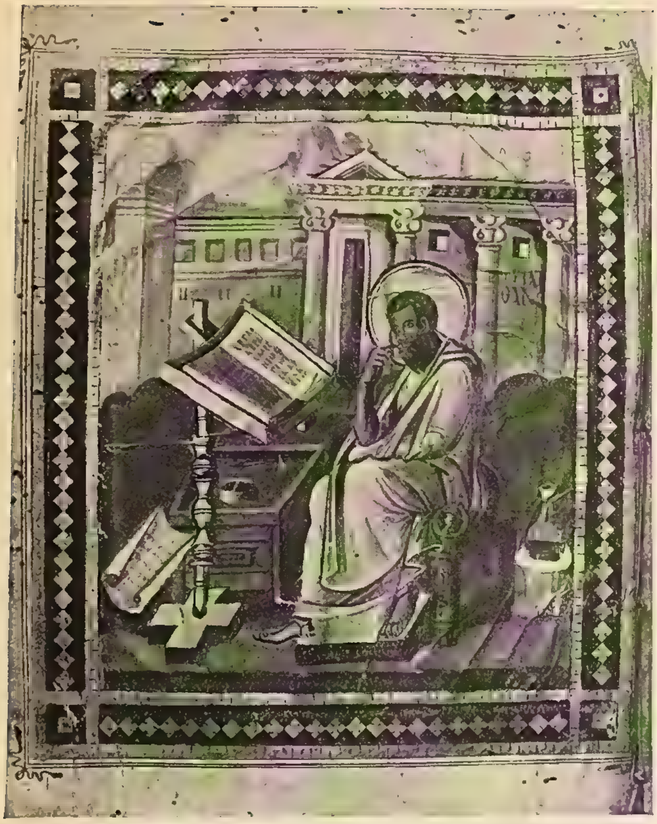
[1] Muñoz, *Op. cit.*, pp. 13–23, *Tav.* 1–5.

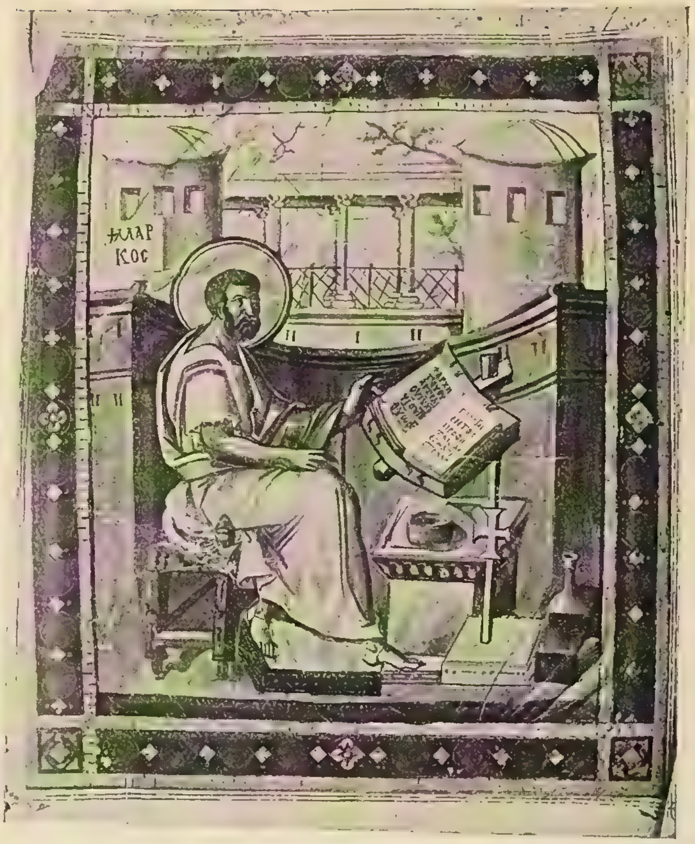
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 24, 29, *Tav.* 6.

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 29–33, *Tav.* 7–10.

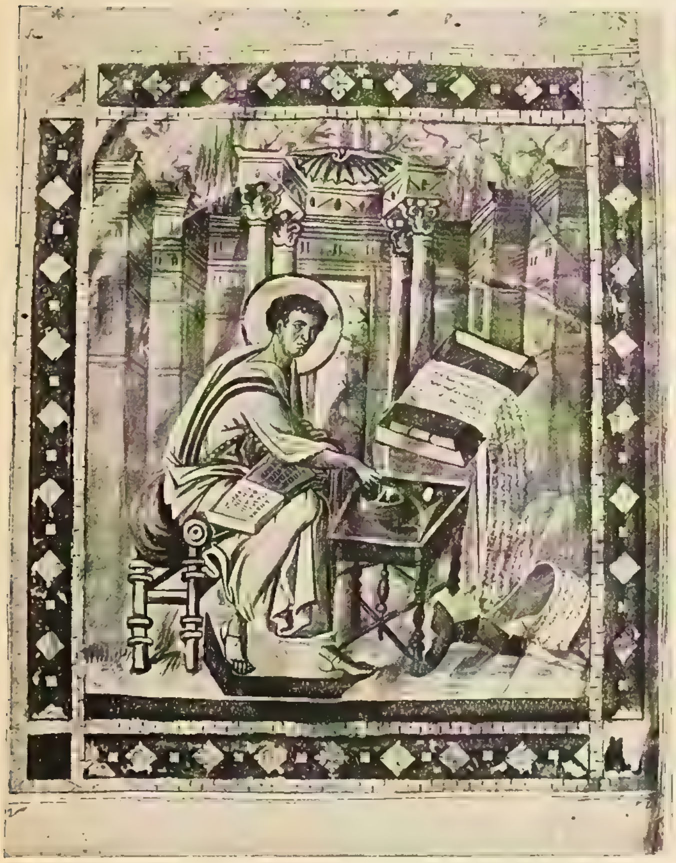
[4] Jean Clédat, *Le Monastère et la Nécropole de Baouît* (*Mémoires de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale au Caire, t.* XII), pp. 53 ff., pp. 153 ff., and Pls. XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII, XXXV, XCVII.



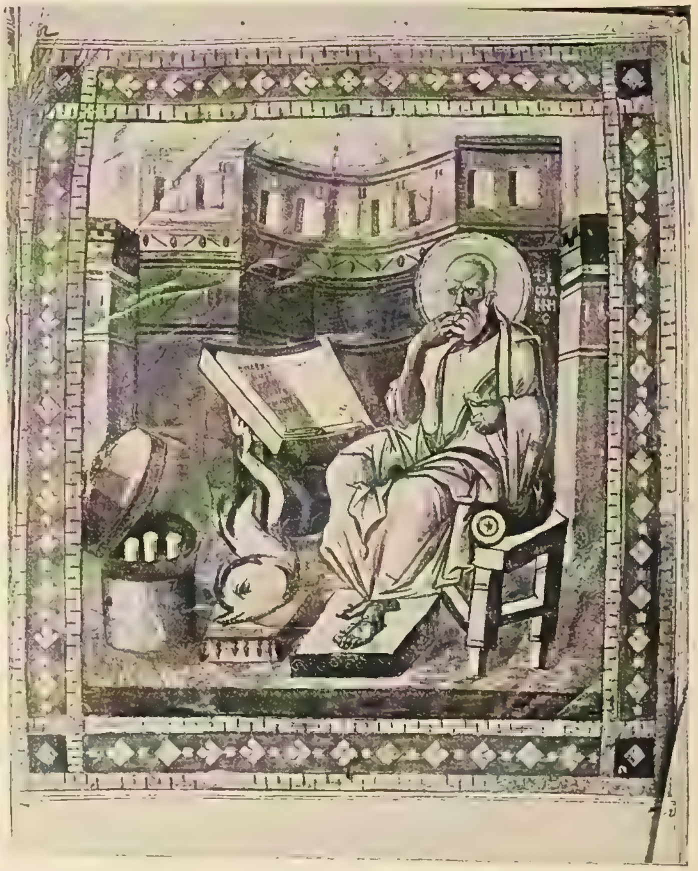
95. Fol. 10v. Matthew



96. Fol. 11. Mark



97. Fol. 12v. Luke



98. Fol. 13. John

Mt. Athos, Stauronikita, *MS. 43*, Gospels. (Courtesy of M. Gabriel Millet)

Jonah (Fig. 65), for instance, holds his scroll unrolled in his left hand while he raises his right in quite the same pose as Isaiah in *Cod. Vat. Gr. 755* (Fig. 83). Again in the papyrus fragments of the Greek Alexandrian *World Chronicle* in the Golenisheff Collection, dated by Strzygowski[1] in the first years of the fifth century, Obadiah (Fig. 68) resembles the Joel of the Chigi manuscript (Fig. 43) and even more closely the Mark of the Washington book covers (Fig. 24). A standing series of Prophets and Apostles holding scrolls (most of them) and placed in front of the neutral background occurs in monumental art in the mosaics of the nave of S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (Figs. 31–40). These figures can be dated in the early sixth century.[2] The types of Prophets are similar to those we have examined and evidently belong to the same series of portraits. The number of figures in the Ravenna mosaics is greater by four than the combined list of the Prophets, major and minor, and the twelve Apostles. Consequently among the figures holding codices we may have another early set of standing Evangelist portraits.

We now see that the series of the standing Prophets goes back also to the fifth century and shows, as did the portraits of the Evangelists, decided indications of an Egyptian origin. But the cycle of standing portraits is still more comprehensive. There are included in it more figures than those of the Evangelists and Prophets. In the mosaics of the eleventh century at Daphni[3] (Figs. 86–91) we see not only the characteristic Prophets but also Solomon (Fig. 86). In an eleventh century manuscript of the Acts, Epistles and Apocalypse in the Vatican Library, *Cod. Gr. 1208*, are found the standing portraits[4] of the authors of the New Testament whose works are included in the codex (Figs. 92–94). One of the most valuable documents for consideration is a volume preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, *Syr. 341*, which, when it was complete, contained both the Old and the New Testaments in the Peshitto version of the Syriac.[5] Only the Old Testament portion of the codex has survived, the New Testament having been torn away. Omont[6] dates the manuscript in the seventh or eighth century. A peculiarity of the format is that each page shows three narrow columns of writing. At the beginnings of most of the books of the Old Testament, inserted in the narrow column of text, is a standing portrait, behind which is a wash of plain color as a neutral background. These portraits are here reproduced (Figs. 45–61). The characteristic poses of the Prophets and the neutral background proclaim the kinship of these with the series of Prophets in Greek manuscripts which we have studied. Omont [1] senses this when he gives his opinion that the original pictures copied by the Syriac artist may have been Greek. Minor points confirm this general impression. Zechariah in *Syr. 341* (Fig. 54) is accompanied by his flying sickle which is seen also in *Cod. Vat. Gr. 1153* (Fig. 80). Daniel (Fig. 46) wears his strange hat and his cloak caught in the middle with the brooch as in the frescoes at Bawît (Fig. 63). The series of Prophets is obviously the Greek one. In this manuscript, in addition to the usual figures of the Prophets, we find also the standing portraits of Joshua (Fig. 45), and Moses (Fig. 56), as well as Esdras (Fig. 60) and Jesus, the son of Sirach (Fig. 61). If we still had the New Testament portion of this Bible we should undoubtedly find the standing portraits of the four Evangelists. This we can assert with assurance after we have stopped to pass in review the persons depicted in the whole collection of standing portraits and have discovered their common quality. The figures are those of: Moses, reputed author of the Pentateuch; Joshua, chief character of the Book of Joshua; Solomon, one of the chief characters of the Book of Kings and author of Proverbs; the authors of the Prophecies, major and minor; Esdras, author of the books bearing his name; Jesus, the son of Sirach, author of Ecclesiasticus; Christ; the Virgin Mary; John the Baptist; the four Evangelists, authors of the Gospels; Luke, author of the Acts; authors of the Epistles; John, author of the Apocalypse. Had I illustrated more fully we should have seen Job, hero of the Book of Job; David, author of the Psalms, and others.

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[1] Adolf Bauer und Josef Strzygowski, *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik* (*Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil. hist. Klasse, Bd.* 51, Wien, 1906), p. 193.

[2] Dalton, *Op. cit.*, p. 350 ff.

[3] Gabriel Millet, *Le Monastère de Daphni* (Paris, 1899), pp. 145, 146, and Pls. VII–IX.

[4] Stephan Beissel, *Vatikanische Miniaturen* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1893), p. 19, Pl. XII.

[5] Henri Omont, *Peintures de l'Ancien Testament dans un manuscrit syriaque* (*Monuments et Mémoires, Fondation Eugène Piot, t.* 17, Paris, 1909), pp. 85–98, Pls. V–X.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 87.

The significance of the whole series of standing portraits is now clear. It is a cycle of the authors of the books of the Old and New Testaments, each placed at the head of his book. Where the author is unknown the chief character of the book takes his place. The series is a literary one especially invented as illustration for manuscripts of the Bible. It is really a cycle of standing author portraits modelled on a classical pagan series of a similar sort.[2] In this cycle, which seems to have started in Hellenistic Egypt, the portraits of the four Evangelists found their places in due sequence.

Two fundamental points are now in the way of explanation. 1. Why *standing* author portraits? 2. Why are the backgrounds of these always *neutral?*

In the tenth century manuscripts with the standing portraits which we first examined it will be noticed how badly the tall figures fill the space allotted to them within the frame (Plate I). On either side of the figure is a wide unused strip. This is particularly noticeable in the case of the manuscript from Sinai (Figs. 5–8). Of course the shape of the page, and consequently of the picture, is determined by the format of the codex. In the early

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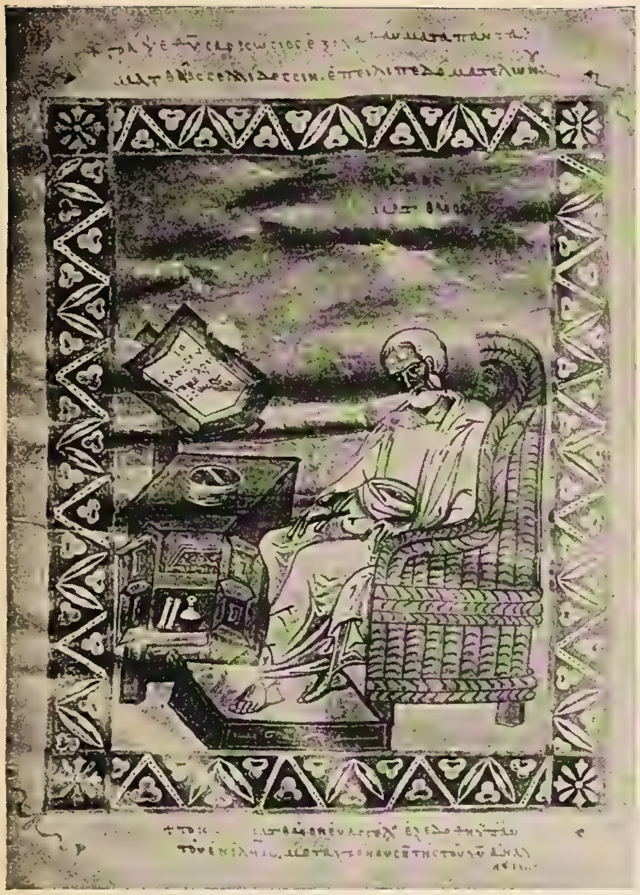
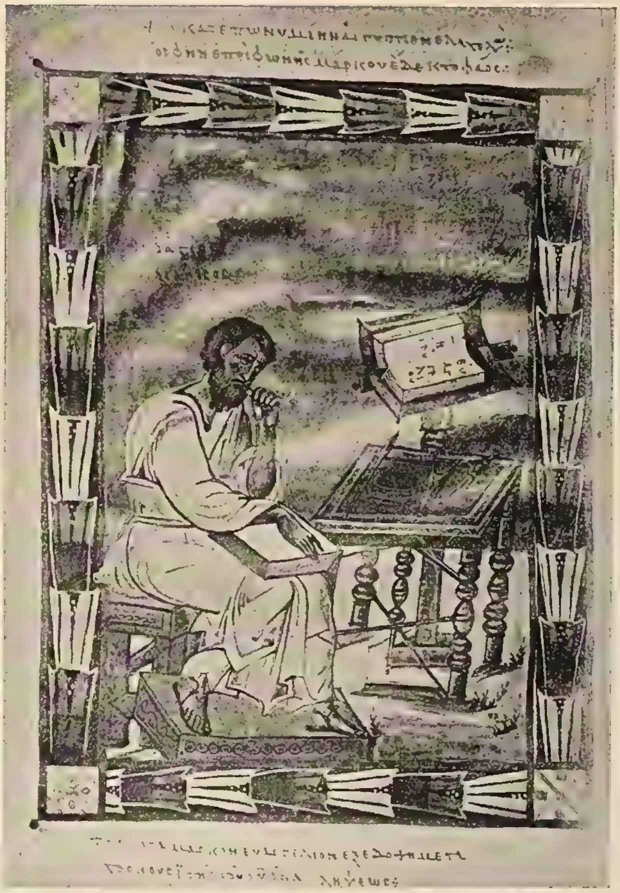
[1] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

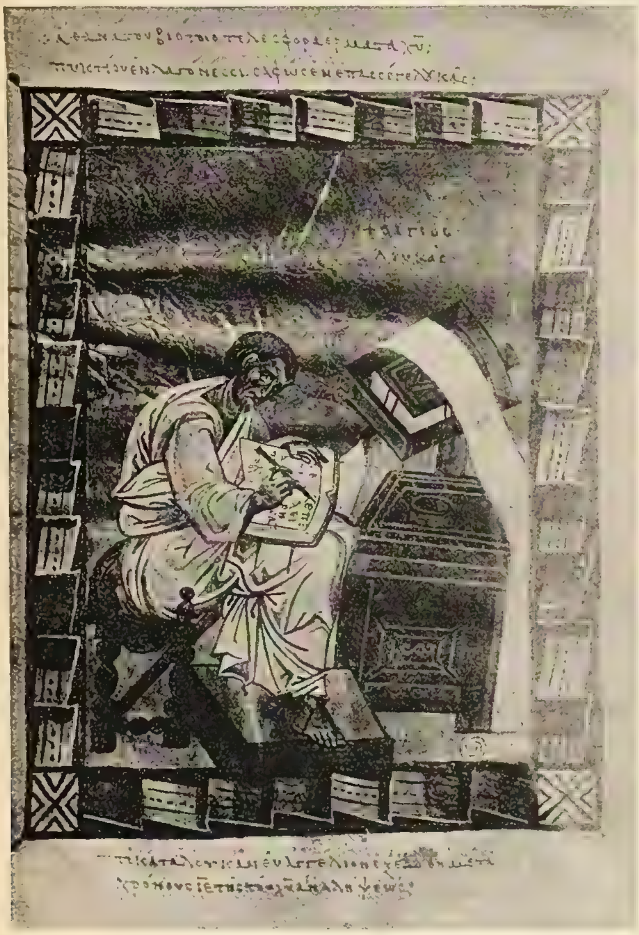
[2] Gerstinger, *Op. cit.*, p. 10 B. Cf. The famous portrait rolls of M. Terentius Varro (116–27 B.C.).



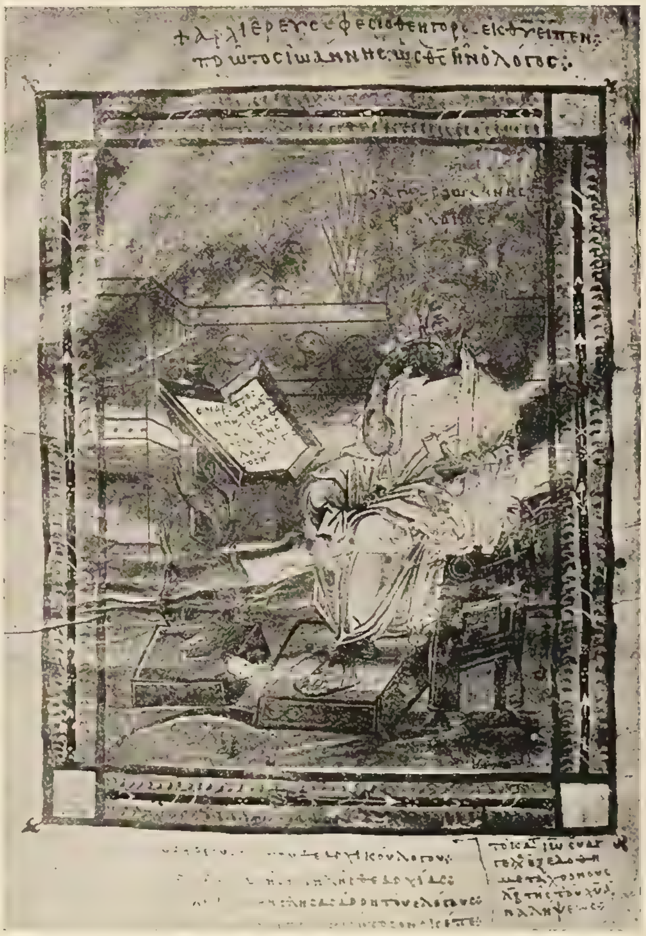
99. Fol. 9v. Matthew



100. Fol. 171v. Mark



101. Fol. 240v. Luke



102. Fol. 349v. John

Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Coislin 195*, Gospels. (Courtesy of M. Henri Omont)

centuries the shape of a codex was wider than any we see on Plate I. It was usually square. Almost all the early examples show this characteristic; *e.g.*, *Codex Sinaiticus*, fourth century[1]; *Vatican Virgil*, fourth century[2]; *Ambrosian Iliad*, fifth century[3]; *Vienna Dioscorides*,[4] sixth century (Figs. 149, 150). Only later did the codex become oblong. Consequently we can confidently assert that the standing author portrait did not originate as a frontispiece in the codex book form, however frequently it may be found in this format later. No artist, left free to choose in the beginning, would ever have used a slim, standing figure to fill a wide, square space. The clue to the origin of the standing portraits is to be found in the Vatican manuscript of *Cosmas Indicopleustes, Cod. Gr. 699* (Figs. 70–77).[5] In its present form this manuscript dates in the ninth or tenth century.[6] It is not a Bible but contains the Christian topography of the traveller Cosmas, who wrote either at Alexandria or at Sinai about A.D. 547. The manuscript is decorated, however, with the well known cycle of Biblical authors and characters with which we are familiar. Here we see the four Evangelists (Figs. 70–73), Melchizedek (Fig. 74) and others. Notice that Zechariah (Fig. 77) has the sickle which distinguished him in Paris, *Syr. 341* (Fig. 54) and in the Vatican manuscript of the Prophets (Fig. 80). There is no doubt that we are in the presence of the cycle, borrowed here, from the usual decoration of the manuscripts of the Bible. Now what is significant is that these figures in the Vatican *Cosmas* manuscript *stand in the columns of writing* and that even the always useless frame, which has separated the neutral background within from the neutral margin without, is here not found. The origin of the standing author portrait can now be seen in my conjectural restoration (Fig. 78). The portraits stand because they were first inserted by the artist in the narrow columns of text. No other pose would fit so well as the tall narrow one of a standing figure. The portraits stand because, clearly enough, there was no room for them to sit down. There is no frame around the figures because there is no difference in background to be delimited by a frame.

Narrow columns of writing are characteristic of longer papyrus book rolls.[7] The narrow column was used so that the *volumen* did not have to be dangerously or inconveniently unrolled for reading. In Egypt, when the book passed from the roll format to the codex, the narrow columns were retained, as, for example, in the *Codex Sinaiticus*[1] where there are four narrow columns of writing to a page, and in the *Codex Vaticanus*[2] where there are three. The recently discovered Coptic papyrus codex of St. John's Gospel[3] has, by exception, only one column to a page, but to fit that column the codex was made excessively tall and narrow. The use of the narrow column seems to have been the rule in Egypt for permanent books because of her dependence on the papyrus roll as the means of literary transmission. The fact that the standing author portrait was determined by this format adds but another item to the already preponderant evidence that Egypt is the place of origin for this type.

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[1] Helen and Kirsopp Lake, *Codex Sinaiticus Petropolitanus, The New Testament* (Oxford, 1911). Facsimile.

[2] *Codices e Vaticanis selecti I, Fragmenta et Picturae Cod. Vat. 3225* (Roma, 1899). Facsimile.

[3] A. M. Ceriani et A. Ratti, *Homeri Iliadis pictae fragmenta Ambrosiana* (Milano, 1905). Facsimile.

[4] A von Premerstein, C. Wessely, I. Mantuani; *Dioscorides, Codex Aniciae Iulianae picturis illustratus* (*Codices Graeci et Latini, etc.*, *Tom.* X, Leyden, 1906). Facsimile.

[5] Mgr. Cosimo Stornajolo, *Le Miniature della Topografia Cristiana di Cosma Indicopleuste* (*Codices e Vaticanis selecti*. X, 1908). Facsimile.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 15.

[7] Frederic G. Kenyon, *Handbook to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament* (London, 1901), Pl. I.

We can, I think, add one last touch to make this provenance decisive. The lack of a background or the use of a neutral background behind the vast majority of the standing portraits, is in conformity with the technique of painting on papyrus.[4] Centuries before the Christian era, in the times of the Egyptian national empire the illuminations in the papyrus rolls of the famous *Book of the Dead*[5] never use a painted background, be it sky, landscape or architecture. The objects of the painting were set down as a pictograph. The background was the unpainted papyrus. In other words there never was any "setting" in depth, no space relationship of this kind. In the papyrus fragments of the Alexandrian *World Chronicle* of the fifth century A. D. (Figs. 67–69) we notice this same peculiarity carried on — no background save the unpainted papyrus itself. Even in vellum manuscripts copied from papyrus such as the famous *Joshua Roll*,[6] there is again no painted background. There are objects one behind another but the sky is not painted, the vellum here is left untouched. This is the case also throughout the Vatican *Cosmas Indicopleustes*. Therefore the fact that there is persistently no background behind the standing author portraits indicates quite surely that the original types were first painted on papyrus. Egypt again is the most likely place of origin for the whole standing series.

Thus it is certain, I think, that the standing types of Evangelist portraits originated in Egypt as part of a cycle of Biblical author portraits. The style of the figures, the rhythm of the poses, recall vividly the classical standing statues of Poets and Philosophers. This similarity coupled with the fact that the types are found in Greek manuscripts which in turn were copied from earlier Greek manuscripts, forces us to place the origin of the series in the great Christian Hellenistic Greek center of Egypt, Alexandria.

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[1] Helen and Kirsopp Lake, *Op. cit.*, any plate.

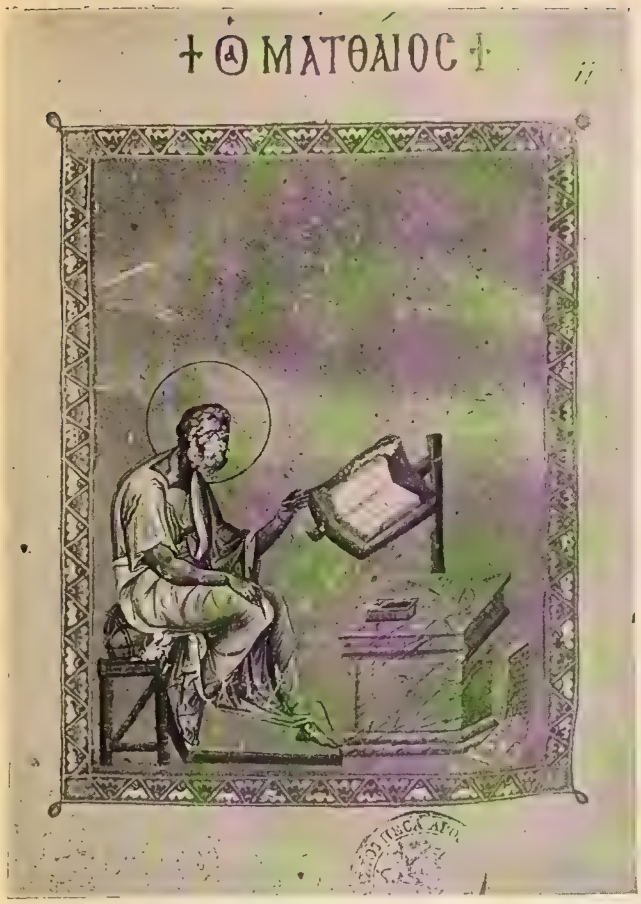
[2] Kenyon, *Op. cit.*, Pl. V.

[3] Sir Herbert Thompson, *The Gospel of St. John according to the Earliest Coptic Manuscript.* (*British School of Archaeology in Egypt*, XXXVI.) Facsimile.

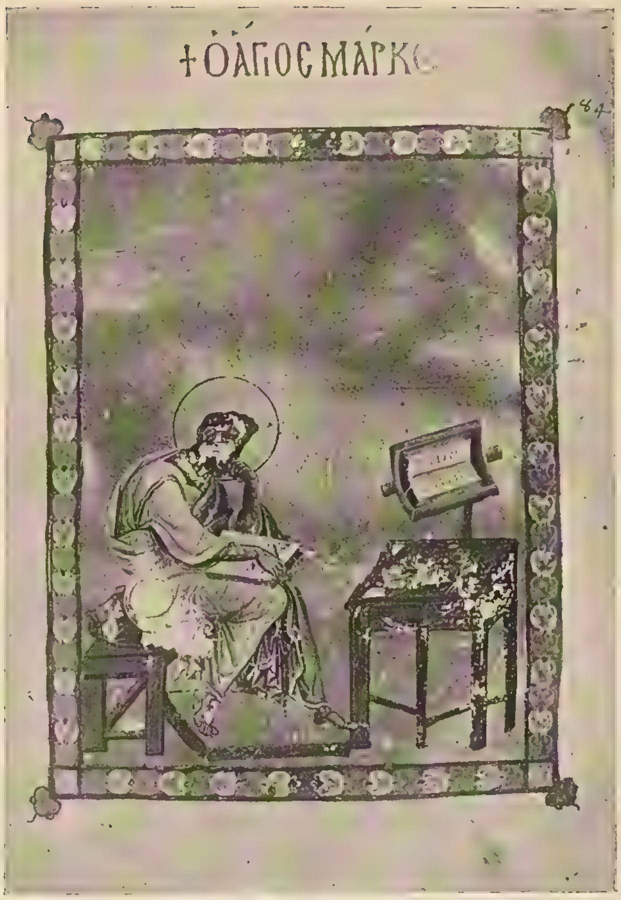
[4] Strzygowski, *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik*, p. 171.

[5] E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead* (Oxford, 1899).

[6] A. Muñoz, *Il Rotulo di Giosuè . . . riprodotto a cura della Biblioteca Vaticana* (Milano, Hoepli, 1905). Facsimile.



103. Fol. 11, Matthew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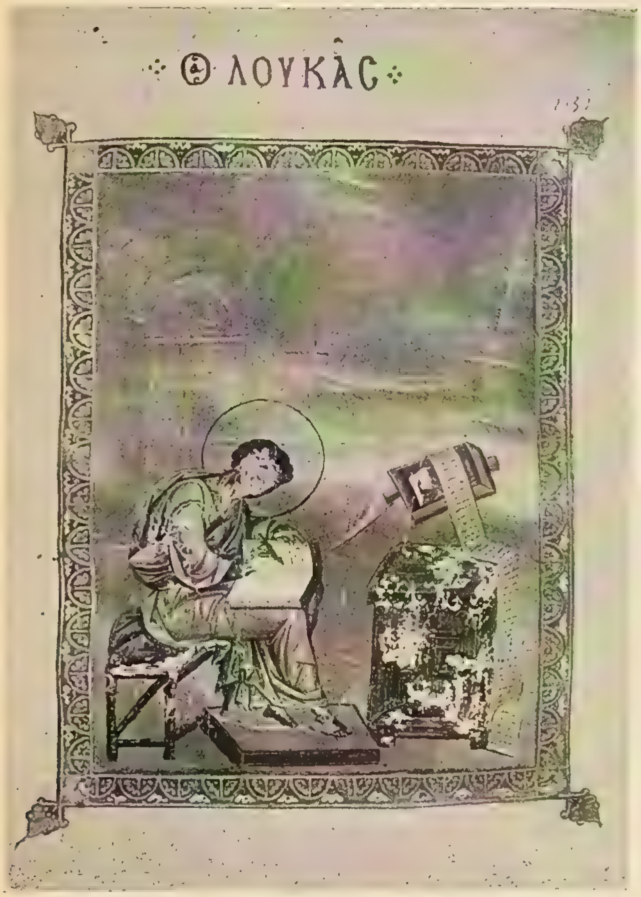
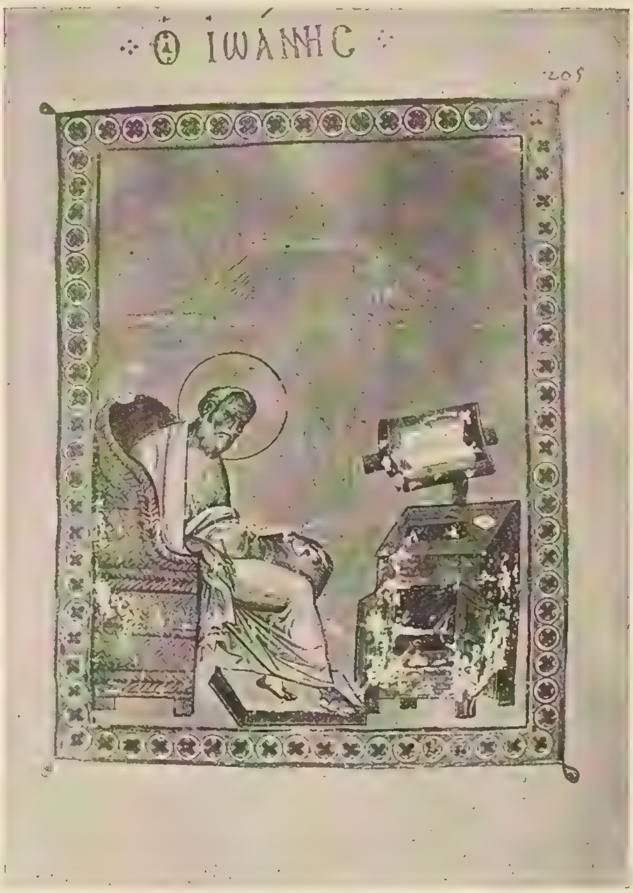
104. Fol. 84, Mark



105. Fol. 131, Luke



106. Fol. 205, John

Rome, Vatican Library, *Cod. Gr. 364*, Gospels. (Sansaini)

There is even evidence as to the very time when these portraits were made up. The figures of the Prophets, as we have continually noted, usually carry scrolls. The Evangelists never do. They inevitably hold codices. The presumption then is that the Old Testament portraits originated in Alexandria as the decoration of the Septuagint in imitation of the portrait series of the pagans.[1] They started, however, while papyrus rolls were still the usual method of book making. This might well have been before the New Testament was written.[2] The Evangelist portraits, on the other hand, were made up and added to the original Old Testament cycle after the papyrus codex had come into vogue. This change would seem to have taken place during the very first centuries of our era.[3] In the standing Evangelist portraits we see the primitive set of Alexandria which may well have originated, say, at the end of the second or at the beginning of the third century or just after the New Testament books were added as "Scripture" to the canon of the Old.

Concerning the standing portraits of the Evangelists there is still another point to be cleared up, which we put aside in order not to complicate the discussion. The persistence with which the Evangelists turn and walk to the right in tenth and eleventh century manuscripts calls for explanation (Cf. Figs. 1, 4, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14). This can quickly be given by reference to *Cod. Gr. 756* (eleventh century) in the Vatican Library.[4] When this codex lies open at folios 11 *verso* and 12 *recto* (Figs. 84, 85), the four standing Evangelists, Matthew and John the white bearded Apostles above, and Luke and Mark, black haired, below, march to the right in order to offer their books to the majestic Christ on the opposite page. This is not a primitive idea. In the first place, the result is a clumsy and compiled picture. Secondly, we know the portraits of the Evangelists started distributively as parts of a cycle of Biblical authors. The idea of a synthesis or concordance of the four Evangelists came later. Nevertheless the "Presentation" picture must date well before the tenth century in order to have had its reflection in the manuscripts of the Macedonian Renaissance. As we shall see later, it had its reflections also in Syria and in the West. We shall discuss the "Presentation" picture more fully when we deal with Latin manuscripts.

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[1] Gerstinger, *Op. cit.*, p. 10 B. Varro's portrait rolls.

[2] Strzygowski, *Op. cit.*, p. 149.

[3] E. Maunde Thompson, *An Introduction to Greek and Latin Palaeography* (Oxford, 1912), p. 53.

[4] Buberl, *Op. cit.*, p. 10.

Seated Types (Ephesus)

The Greek manuscripts of the Gospels dating in the tenth and eleventh centuries which contain the seated portraits of the Evangelists are very numerous. There are many more than we were called upon to deal with in the case of the standing types. But, after examination, the number of types depicted in them is found to be extremely limited. The series is remarkably homogeneous. Furthermore, unlike the standing portraits, the seated ones do not form parts of a great Biblical cycle of authors, but are, each set, independent entities. Therefore I shall be justified in describing only four Gospel manuscripts of the period of the Macedonian Renaissance. These contain all the types of seated Evangelists which had any currency during this time. The homogeneity of this iconography will be shown more fully by quick reference to eight other manuscripts, slightly later in date, which have copied or adapted the characteristic types.

The four manuscripts described below contain the earliest, finest and most characteristic sets of seated Evangelist portraits surviving in Greek illumination.

1. Mt. Athos, Stauronikita, *MS. 43.*[1] This is by far the most important manuscript of all we shall meet. The portraits of the Evangelists (Figs. 95–98) in this Gospel codex have never been published. It is due entirely to the friendly generosity of M. Gabriel Millet that I am enabled to present this indispensable material here, and I wish to take this opportunity to record my gratitude for this signal act of coöperation on his part. The manuscript itself dates in the early tenth century and was, quite surely, painted at Constantinople. It has the closest affiliations with the famous manuscripts of the Macedonian Renaissance. Both the style of the figures and the motifs of the ornamental frames are similar to the *Paris Psalter* (Bibl. Nat.), *Gr. 139*. (Compare the borders of the Evangelist portraits with those of the Psalter illustrated in Plates V and VI in Omont, *Facsimiles des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale.*)

The authors of the Gospels are represented seated on benches in front of desks and tables. Two of the figures are posed in profile and two in more or less three-quarters view. Matthew and John raise their right arms to their chins and sit back from their books in a pensive attitude. Mark sits up in a more alert fashion, pausing in his writing for a moment. Luke is engaged in transcribing his Gospel from the first draft on the roll spread over his desk. For Byzantine painting, even of the tenth century, these figures are magnificently modelled and stand out in front of their backgrounds with an almost sculptural insistence.

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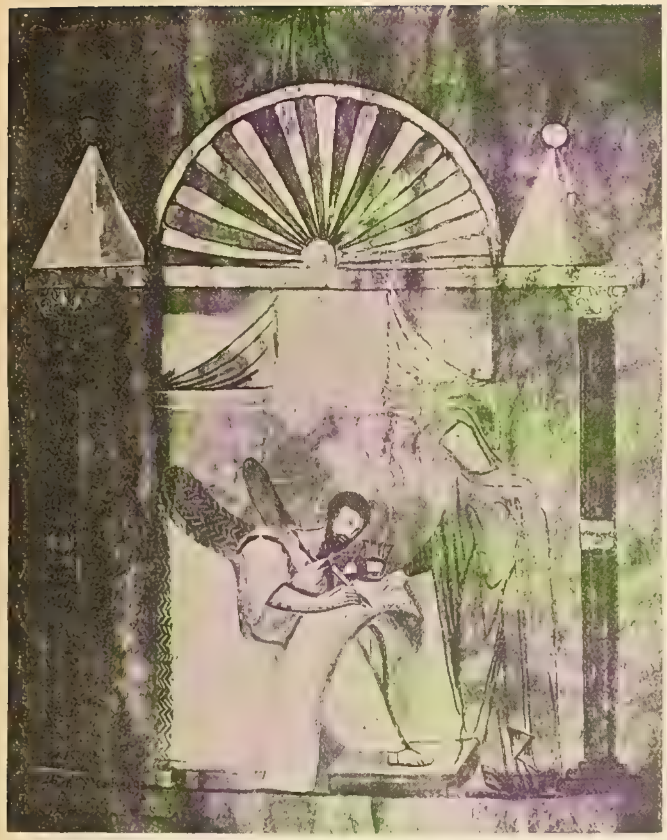
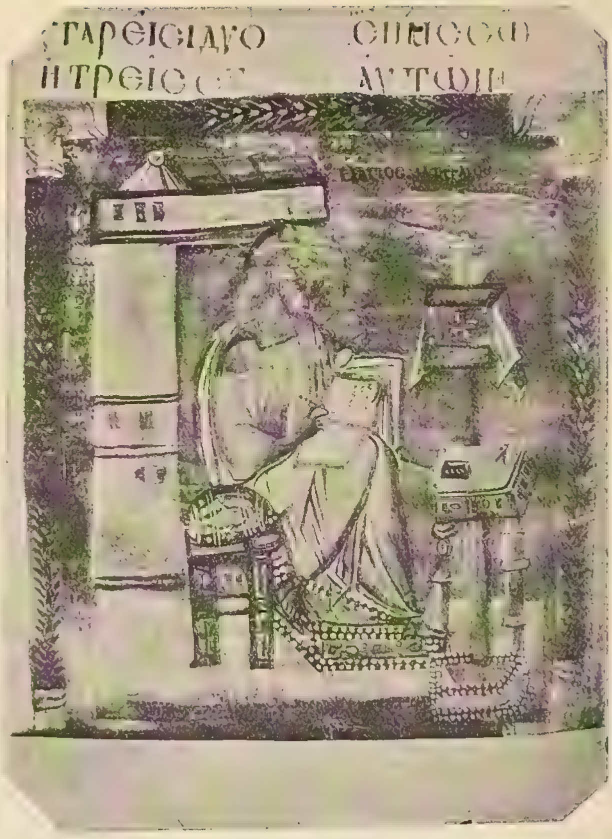
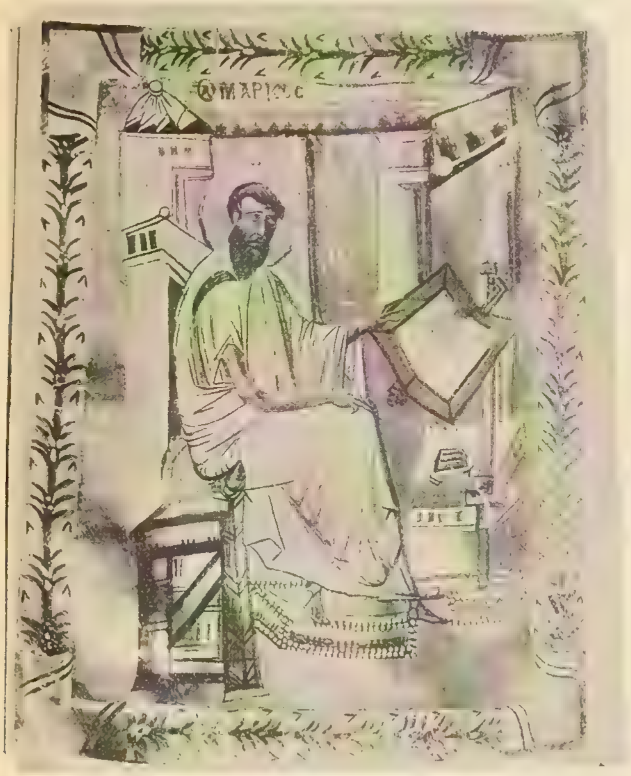
[1] Buberl, *Op. cit.*, pp. 7–9. Spyridon P. Lambros, *Op. cit.*, vol. I, p. 77.



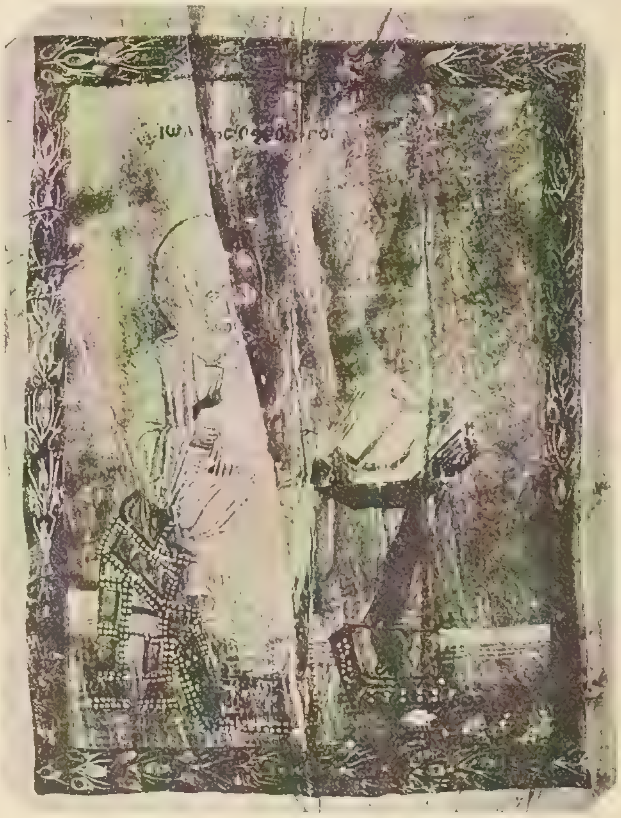
107. Mark. Rossano, Cathedral, *Codex Purpureus.* Fol. 121



108. Matthew. Petrograd, Public Library, *Gr. 21.* (Arch. Phot. d'Art et d'Histoire)



109. Mark. Petrograd, Public Library, *Gr. 21.* (Arch. Phot. d'Art et d'Histoire)



110. John. Petrograd, Public Library, *Gr. 21.* (Arch. Phot. d'Art et d'Histoire)

The most remarkable feature about these portraits is, however, the amazing architecture used as the "setting" behind each seated figure. Behind Matthew (Fig. 95) is a temple, a wall, and a tower. Mark is seated in front of a curved *exedra*, above and behind which are seen two round towers connected by a loggia (Fig. 96). Luke (Fig. 97) is in front of a high walled structure, broken back symmetrically at regular intervals. In the center is a high doorway adorned with a kind of portico composed of two columns on either side, with an architrave projecting out upon them. All this seems inspired by the stage front of an ancient theatre. John (Fig. 98) has behind him again an *exedra*, this time in two stories, the lower one of which shows a double recession. In three of these portraits the architecture is disposed *symmetrically* behind the Evangelist. In all four pictures, trees in the background emerge over the top of the architecture and thus give depth to the strip of blue sky against which they outline themselves. The Evangelist is represented, evidently, in an architectural enclosure open to the sky (*so not an interior*) but shutting off the open space beyond.

2. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, *Coislin 195.*[1] (I owe the opportunity to include the reproductions of the Evangelist portraits to the courtesy of M. Henri Omont.) This splendid tenth century manuscript[2] with its set of seated Evangelists (Figs. 99–102) again recalls the *Paris Psalter* in its style and, more objectively, in its borders or frames. (Compare the borders of Figs. 99, 100, 101 with those of the Psalter in Plates V and VI in Omont, *Facsimiles.* They are identical.) In this *Coislin* manuscript, we find two new types of seated figures. Matthew (Fig. 99), an old man, sinks back pensively into a great high-backed, wicker arm chair, a very notable piece of furniture. He rests his hands languidly on his thighs. In one hand he holds a pen. Luke (Fig. 101) is again busily writing, but in a pose quite different from the Luke of Stauronikita *43* (Fig. 97). Mark (Fig. 100) is really the type of Matthew in Stauronikita *43* (Fig. 95). He is merely reversed. John (Fig. 102) holds exactly the same pose as in the Athonite manuscript (Fig. 98). The backgrounds of three of the portraits in *Coislin 195* seem to be neutral gold. But behind John, etched in the gold, is the characteristic architecture of Stauronikita *43* — the wall with its recession, the trees emerging, and the sky above. This etching is so nearly faded out in the original that it is extremely hard to see it. I have accentuated it in the reproduction to make it clear. Possibly the backgrounds of the other three Evangelists contained architecture etched in the gold. If this was true there is not a trace of it left, all has faded to neutrality.

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[1] Henri Bordier, *Description des Peintures et autres Ornements contenus dans les Manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1883), pp. 123 ff. Connects the miniatures of this manuscript with Greek Philosophers as prototypes. Muñoz, *I Codici Greci*, p. 74. Ebersolt, *Op. cit.*, p. 33, Pl. XXIX.

[2] Beissel, *Geschichte*, p. 46 and note 3.

3. Rome, Vatican Library, *Cod. Gr. 364.*[1] (Photographed with the permission of Mgr. Giovanni Mercati). Of all the manuscripts of the Macedonian Renaissance this contains what are, perhaps, the most refined and delicate miniatures. Both the drawing and the coloring convince us that we are in the presence of a superb work of art. This manuscript is later than the first two and dates probably in the first years of the eleventh century.[2] The portraits of the four Evangelists present no new types but refine, flatten and Byzantinize those we already know. Matthew (Fig. 103) is the type of Mark in the Stauronikita codex (Fig. 96). Mark (Fig. 104), the type of Mark in *Coislin 195* (Fig. 100). Luke (Fig. 105) writes in the pose of Luke in the *Coislin Gospels* (Fig. 101). John (Fig. 106) in his wicker arm chair is the same again as Matthew in *Coislin 195*, only the pose is reversed.

The Vatican manuscript resembles the *Coislin Gospels* in the treatment of the backgrounds of the portraits. The architecture is etched on the coat of plain gold. If we look closely we will see the characteristic enclosing walled structures with the trees and the sky appearing over the tops. Sometimes a portion of the wall is raised and curtains are draped down from, or up to, this. Also a short pier or column crowned with a ball is sometimes set on top of the wall and the curtains are wound around this. In the case of John (Fig. 106) the center of the architecture is filled with a great doorway, a feature which recalls the background of Luke in Stauronikita *43* (Fig. 97) and consequently the idea of an antique stage front. Here, however, the doorway is seen at a slight angle in perspective.

4. Petrograd, Public Library, *Cod. Gr. 21.*[3] This manuscript, crude as it seems after the last three, is, nevertheless, of paramount importance. It is not a product of the capital but was painted in Cappadocia probably in the tenth century.[4] The Evangelist portraits (Figs. 108–110) are part of a series of sixteen full page miniatures which were found gathered in front of a codex of the Gospels dating in the eleventh century, presented to the Library at Petrograd in 1858 by the Metropolitan of Trebizond. The Anatolian origin of the pictures can be confirmed by a comparison of the style and technique with that of the Cappadocian frescoes recently published by de Jerphanion.[5] The three Evangelists (Luke is missing) show, in a crude fashion, exactly the types we have been describing. Matthew (Fig. 108) is like the Luke, writing, of the Vatican *Cod. 364* (Fig. 105). (The pose of the legs can be seen more exactly in Dionysiu *34*, Fig. 130.) Behind him in the background we

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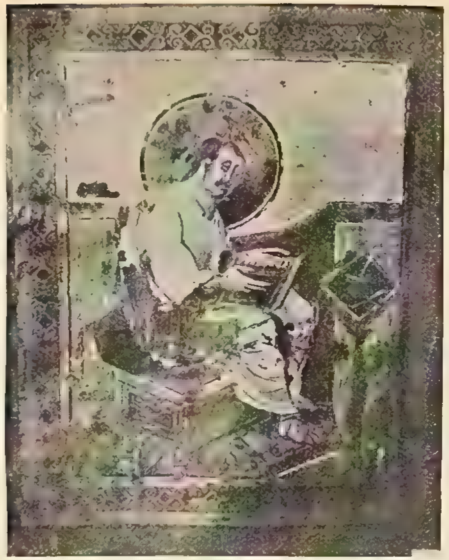
[1] Buberl, *Op. cit.*, p. 9.

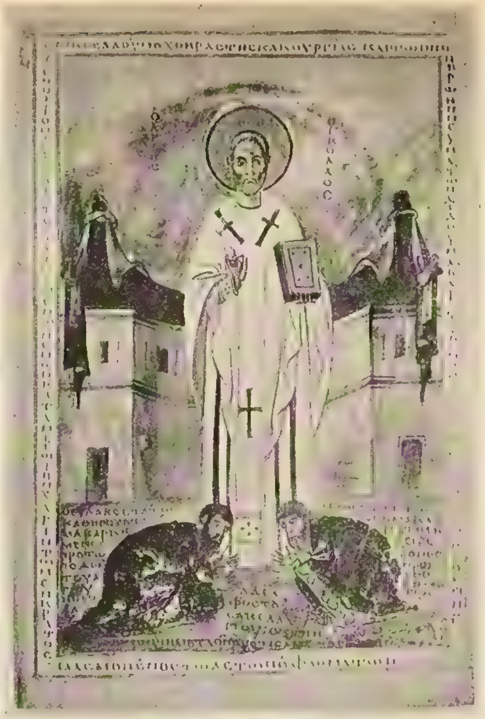
[2] *Ibid.*

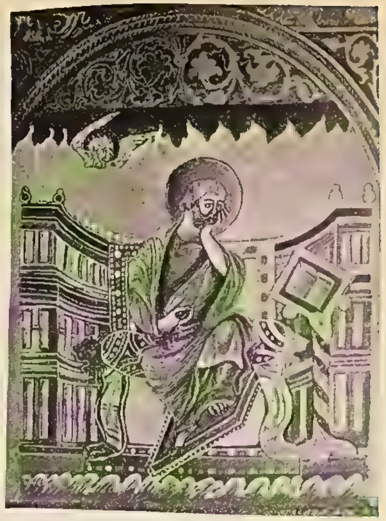
[3] Von Muralt, *Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque Impériale Publique* (St. Petersburg, 1864), p. 13. Kondakoff, *Histoire de l'Art byzantin*, vol. I, p. 193. Wulff, *Op. cit.*, p. 532.

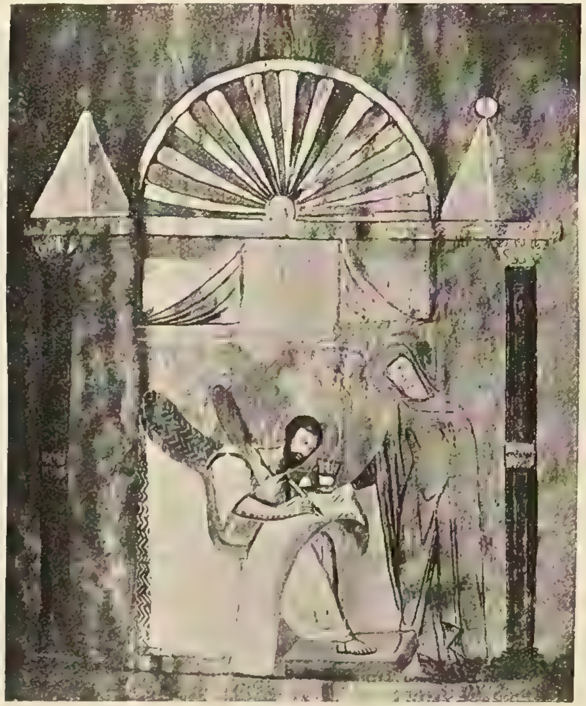
[4] Millet, *Recherches* etc., p. 557.

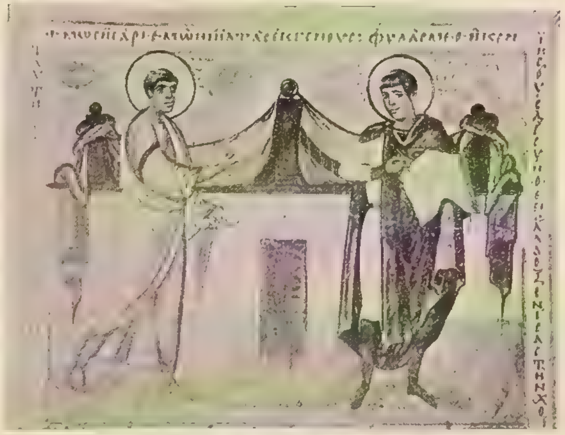
[5] Guillaume de Jerphanion, *Les Églises rupestres de Cappadoce* (Paris, 1925). Particularly striking is the fondness for pearling by means of rows of white dots.

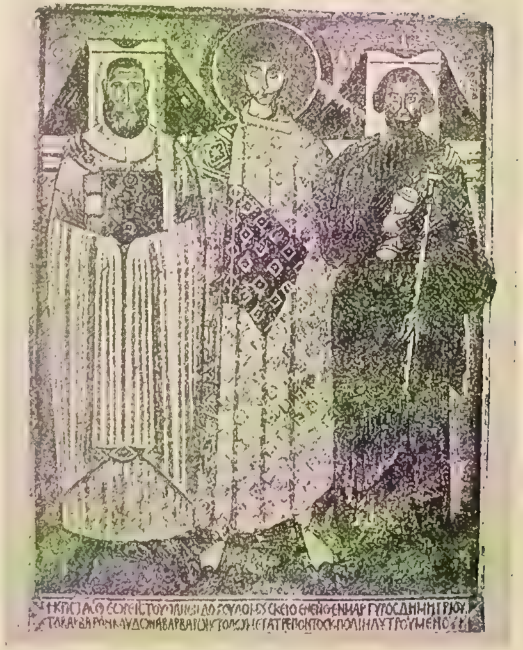

112. Luke. Vienna, Schatzkammer. Gospels


111. Rome, Vatican Library, *Cod. Reg. Gr. 1*, Bible. Fol. 3


113. Mark. Munich, State Library, *Codex Aureus Lat. 14000*


114. Rossano, Cathedral, *Codex Purpureus*


116. Rome, Vatican Library, *Cod. Reg. Gr. 1*, Bible. Fol. 116


115. Salonika, Church of St. Demetrius. Mosaic

see the beginning of an *exedra* like that behind Mark and John in Stauronikita *43* (Figs. 96 and 98). Mark (Fig. 109) is again the Mark of the Athos codex (Fig. 96). Even the background with the *exedra* and the towers is as close to the same type as the clumsy artist could make it. John (Fig. 110) is the same type as John in Stauronikita (Fig. 98) and in *Coislin 195* (Fig. 102). The background here has become neutral, the artist having decided not to tempt fate in copying any more architecture. The borders of the portraits in these Petrograd miniatures have again the same motifs found in the *Paris Psalter.* (Compare Fig. 110 with Plate XII in Omont, *Facsimiles,* and Fig. 109 with Plate III where the similarity is particularly noteworthy in the treatment of the corners.)

The inspection of the Evangelist portraits in these four manuscripts shows a fairly closely connected and interlocked group both by reason of the similarity of poses and architectural backgrounds and of the resemblances of the borders to those of the *Paris Psalter.* In this group there are but six different poses or types of the seated Evangelist portraits. To recapitulate, the types may be reviewed as follows: types 1, 2, 3, and 4 would be those used respectively as Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John in the Vatican *Cod. Gr. 364* (Figs. 103–106). Types 5 and 6 would be those used as the Luke and the John of Stauronikita *43* (Figs. 97 and 98). Thus there would seem to have been two poses for Luke and two for John. Are both of these ancient? Or have we to deal with two sets of four Evangelists having common types in Matthew and Mark? This we cannot answer. The six types are so inextricably interlaced in the manuscripts that at present we must work with all of them. We have no basis on which to choose a normal set of four.

It would make profitless reading to explain in detail how these six types go on being copied in Byzantine illumination and monumental painting of the tenth and eleventh centuries, mixing in the twelfth and fourteenth centuries with the newer medieval types. On Plates XIII and XIV, I have arranged the portraits out of eight manuscripts, together with a set in mosaic of the eleventh century from the narthex of the church of the Dormition at Nicaea.[1] This collection of monuments, as can be verified by careful comparison, shows only the six familiar poses of the Evangelists, or slight variations or adaptations from them. Very important is the Athos manuscript, Vatopedi *949* [2] (Figs. 132–135). It has the distinction of being the earliest dated Gospel manuscript with the portraits of the seated Evangelists, A.D. 949. I owe the possibility of reproducing these important figures here to the courtesy of the late Professor Francis W. Kelsey of the University of Michigan. The mosaics of Nicaea (Figs. 121–124) illustrate very effectively the fact that the mosaicist of the eleventh century adopted the types of portraits prevalent in the manuscripts.

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[1] Theodor Schmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1927), pp. 48–56 and *Taf.* XXXII–XXXV.

[2] S. Eustratiades and Arcadios, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos* (Cambridge, 1924), p. 174.

From the evidence presented I hope it is clear that the six types enumerated and described above were the predominant, even if not the only ones used in tenth and eleventh century Byzantine art. This prevalence and universality presuppose a singular authority for the controlling prototypes behind them. How far back into the preceding centuries can we trace the existence of this set of seated types?

For the investigation of the age of the seated types we have not the comparative wealth of early representations in mosaic, ivories, stone reliefs, and so forth, as was the case in dealing with the standing types. No early examples in these media are extant. On the other hand the one surviving Greek Gospel manuscript dating before the tenth century which contains an Evangelist portrait, the *Codex Rossanensis*, shows the seated type. This miniature of Mark (Fig. 107) is so precious for our discussion that a fresh examination of it is imperative.

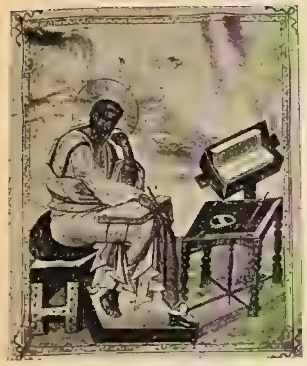
The *Codex Rossanensis*,[1] preserved in the cathedral of Rossano in South Italy, is written in uncial letters on purple vellum. When complete it must have been a remarkable manuscript richly decorated and illustrated. To-day, besides the portrait of Mark, there are left twelve other full page miniatures, depicting the life of Christ, and an ornamental page showing in its frame bust portraits of the Evangelists. The structure of the book has been disturbed but it is clear that the miniature of Mark stood as the frontispiece to his Gospel. The other three Evangelist portraits are lost. The best critical opinion dates this manuscript about A.D. 500 and holds the place of origin to have been Asia Minor.[2] We can be a little more exact about this now. The similarity in style of many of the miniatures of the scenes from the Life of Christ contained in this manuscript to miniatures of the same scenes in Petrograd *21* and to the scenes in the frescoes in the churches of the Anatolian hinterland seems to point to Cappadocia as the home of this important work. Millet has no longer any hesitation in assigning the *Rossanensis* to Cappadocia.[3] Thus we can group geographically the *Codex Rossanensis* and Petrograd *21* in our discussion of the Evangelist portraits.

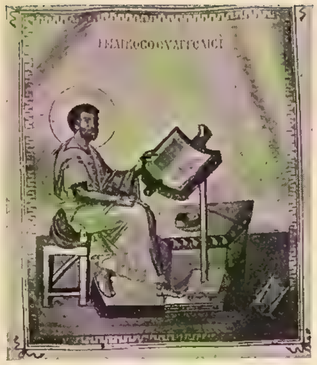
Does the portrait of Mark in the *Rossanensis* (Fig. 107) belong to the set of types and backgrounds with which we are familiar in the tenth century examples of Evangelist portraits? Our investigation will prove that it does. First of all the Evangelist sits in the wicker arm chair we saw in the Vatican

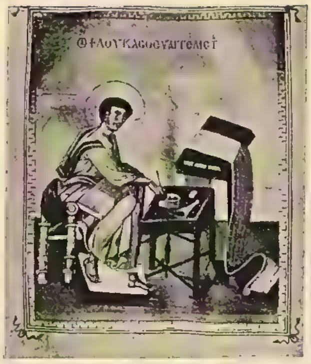
[1] Arthur Haseloff, *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1898). Antonio Muñoz, *Il Codice Purpureo di Rossano* (Roma, 1907).

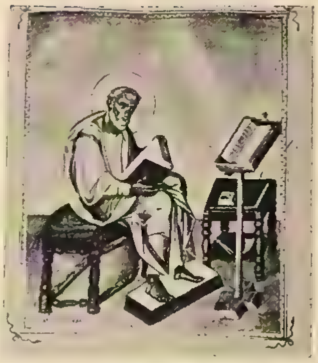
[2] Dalton, *East Christian Art*, p. 312.

[3] Millet, *Op. cit.*, p. 557.

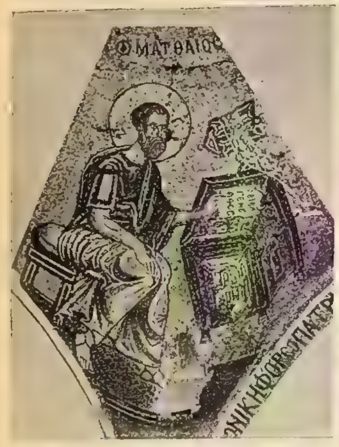

117. Matthew

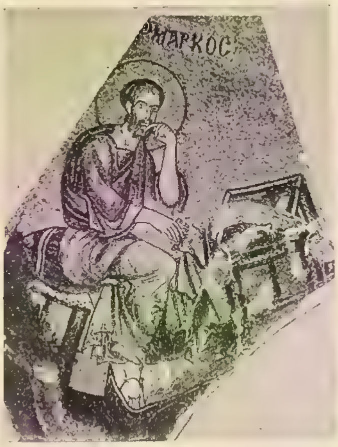

118. Mark


119. Luke

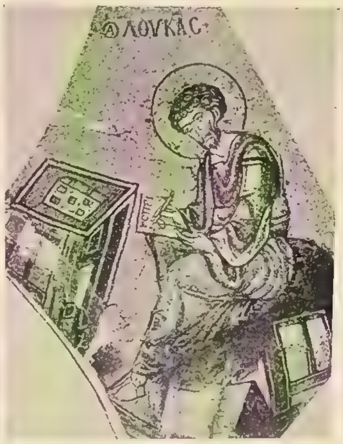

120. John

Athens, National Library, *MS. 56*, Gospels, Tenth Century. (Buberl)

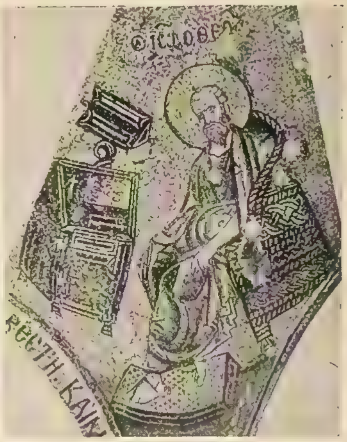

121. Matthew



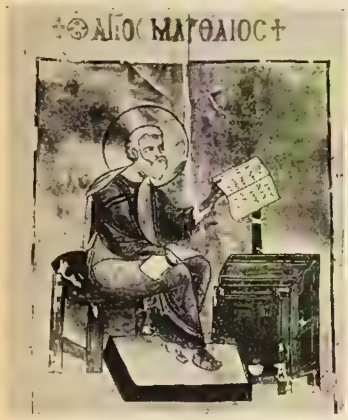
122. Mark

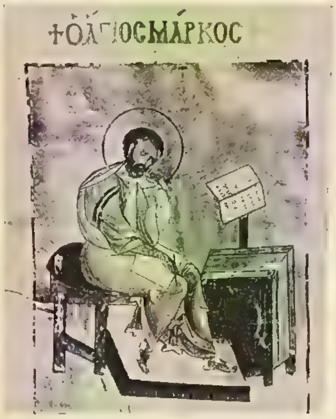


123. Luke

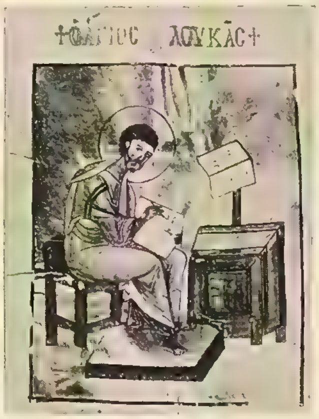

124. John

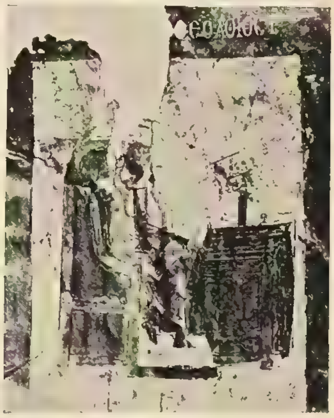
Nicaea, Church of the Dormition. Mosaics of Narthex, Eleventh Century. (Schmit, *Nikaia*)


125. Matthew

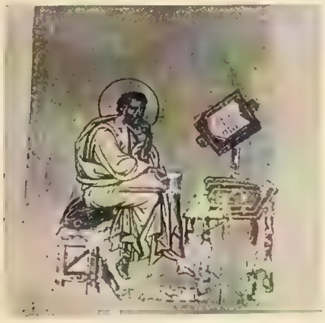


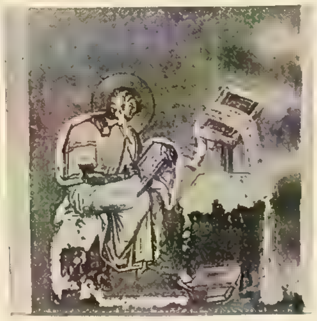
126. Mark

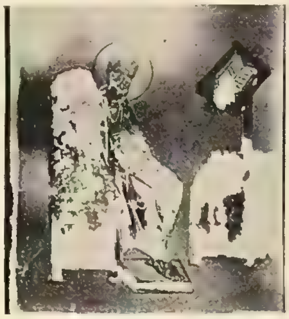

127. Luke


128. John

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library. *MS. 647*, Lectionary, Twelfth Century. (Morgan Library)


129. Mark


130. Luke


131. John

Mt. Athos, Dionysiu. *MS. 34*, Gospels, Eleventh Century. (Millet)

Cod. 364 (Fig. 106) and in *Coislin 195* (Fig. 99). This is a piece of furniture which from the second to the fifth century seems to have been represented in art in both the East and the West of the Mediterranean world (Fig. 152).[1] Its appearance here in connection with a portrait of an Evangelist helps to carry the type back to this time. In the *Rossanensis*, Mark's legs are in the pose of the Evangelist who usually sits in the wicker chair but he leans forward here and writes on a roll at the dictation of a standing veiled woman. The explanation for this will appear later. Meanwhile let us scrutinize the background of the portrait. At this point the reproduction in color in the Muñoz publication of the *Rossanensis* will help a great deal (*Tav. XV*). Behind the Evangelist is a flat grey wall with a white molding running along the top. Resting on the top of the wall, in the center above Mark's head is raised a square *podium* painted grey like the wall. From this on either side is drawn down, in symmetrical fashion, a pink curtain. Above the raised *podium* is a gold knob which serves also as the center of the conch belonging to the architectural frame of the miniature. (The frame itself has originally nothing to do with the architectural background of the miniature. It is an addition to the picture.) Above the wall and the curtains on either side is seen the sky, painted here in graded washes of blue.[2] The Evangelist, therefore, is seated out-of-doors in front of a flat wall, which is surmounted by a horizontal molding and, in the center, by a kind of *podium* from which are draped curtains. If we compare this background in the *Rossanensis* with that behind John seated in his wicker chair in the Vatican *Cod. Gr. 364* (Fig. 106) we cannot fail to be struck by the similarity. The same wall; the same raised central portion with even the knob at the top; the same curtains draped down from the center; and above the wall appears, similarly, the sky. The only important element not common is the great central doorway in the Vatican miniature. The use of curtains on top of a wall, draped down from the higher parts can be seen also in the seventh century mosaics in the church of St. Demetrius in Salonika.[3] In the picture of the Saint and the Founders, on the right choir pier (Fig. 115) we can make out this arrangement of architecture and curtains behind the heads of the two lateral figures. The clearest representation of this wall and curtain background is, however, to be seen in *Cod. Reg. Gr. 1*, a great Bible painted in the tenth century and preserved in the Vatican Library.[4] We shall now see lucidly displayed the type of background that the somewhat clumsy artist of the *Rossanensis* was trying to copy. In the miniature on folio 116 of the Bible (Fig. 116) the two figures stand in front of a flat wall surmounted by a molding. Above this in the center is a square pier supporting a ball or knob from which depend two curtains which are then carried along the wall to smaller piers at each side and wound around them in a decorative fashion. What is most important to notice is the doorway placed directly in the center. This architecture looks very like the representation of a stage front, a suspicion we encountered before in connection with the background of the portrait of Luke in Stauronikita *43* (Fig. 97). I think it is safe to say that the artist of the *Rossanensis* copied a background intended to represent the stage front of an antique theatre. The copyist, however, having filled up his space with the figure of the Evangelist had no place in which to put the tell-tale central doorway. There is no doubt of the similarity between this background and that behind John in the Vatican *Cod. 364* where the doorway is represented. Therefore, from the evidence of the chair and the background, it looks very much as if the miniature of Mark in the *Codex Rossanensis* were at one with our set of seated Evangelist portraits.

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[1] Pijoan, *History of Art* (New York, 1927), vol. I, fig. 792.

[2] Not windows as Dalton suggests (*B. A. and A.*, p. 454).

[3] Diehl, Tourneau et Saladin, *Les Monuments chrétiens de Salonique* (Paris, 1918), p. 107, Pls. XXIX, XXXIII.

[4] *Collezione Paleografica Vaticana, Fascicolo I* (*Miniature della Bibbia Cod. Vat. Regin. Greco I e del Salterio Cod. Vat. Palat. Greco 381*, Milano, 1905), *Tav. 5*, 9.

In the Vatican Bible, *Cod. Reg. Gr. 1*, not only do we see architecture like that in the *Rossanensis* Evangelist portrait but also we find the *exedra* (Fig. 111). This feature is here decorated with the curtains very like those in Fig. 116, and suggests the use of curtains as the decoration of *exedrae* as well as on top of stage walls. The *exedra* and the front wall of the stage are connected in some fashion in the mind of the artist. The *exedra* in the Vatican Bible is extremely close to the one behind Mark in Stauronikita *43* (Fig. 96). Now the use of the *exedra* background for an Evangelist portrait antedates the tenth century. It appears in two earlier Latin Gospel manuscripts of the West: the *Schatzkammer Gospels* in Vienna (Fig. 112) [1] which date, at the latest, from the eighth century, and the *Codex Aureus* at Munich (Fig. 113) [2] which is dated A.D. 870. The *exedra* is not a usual background in western manuscripts but unique. The presumption, then, is that it must have been copied in them from Greek manuscripts which in turn must have been earlier than any we have to-day which show this feature. The *exedra* as a background for the Evangelist must date before the eighth century at least.

Thus the characteristic architecture which accompanied our six types can, as we have seen, be carried far back of the tenth century. The evidence of the wicker chair in the *Rossanensis* helps to carry back the types of poses also. When we recall the close stylistic and geographical relationships between the *Rossanensis* and Petrograd *21*, we become more convinced that

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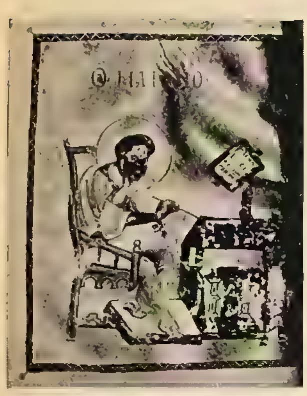
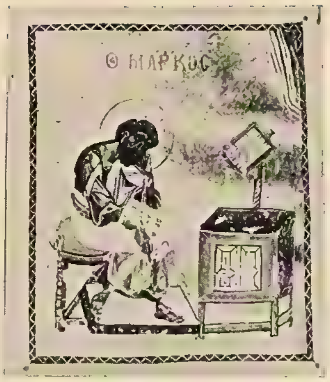
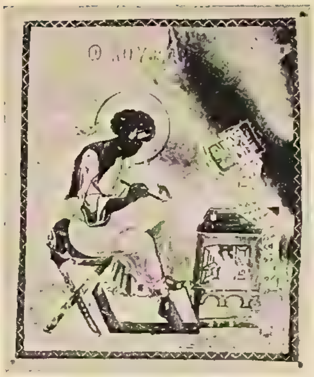
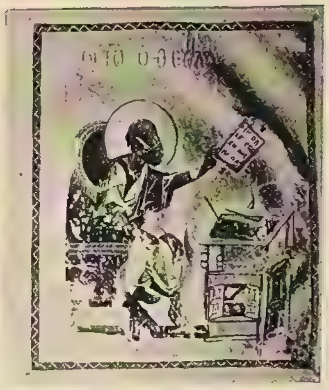
[1] Portrait of St. Luke. Boinet, *La Miniature Carolingienne* (Paris, 1913), Pl. LIX. A.

[2] Portrait of St. Mark. Georg Leidinger, *Der Codex Aureus der bayerischen Staatsbibliothek in München* (München, 1925), pp. 19–21, *Taf.* 91.

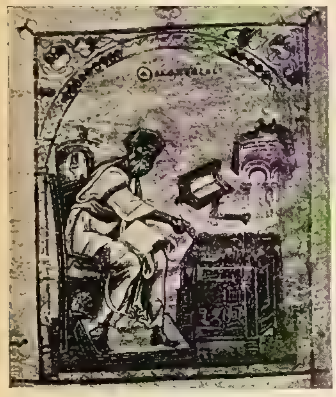

132. Matthew

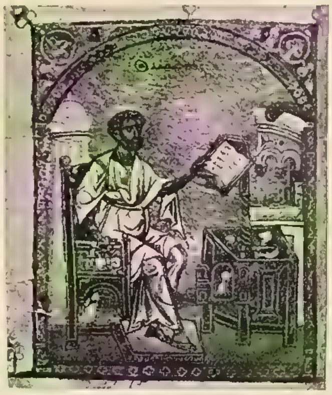

133. Mark

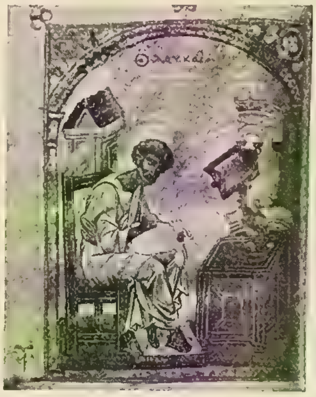

134. Luke

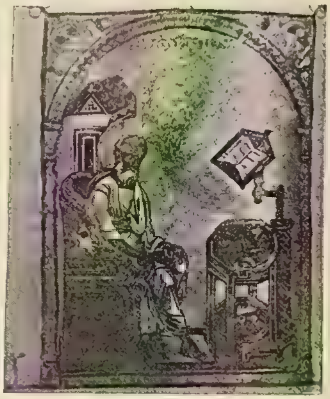

135. John

Mt. Athos, Vatopedi. *MS. 949*, Gospels, A.D. 949. (Courtesy of Professor Francis W. Kelsey, Phot. Swain)

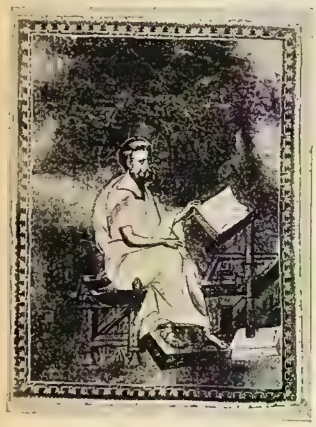

136. Matthew

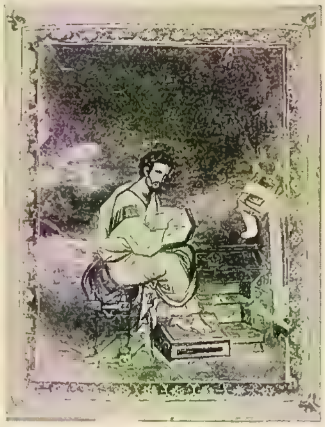

137. Mark


138. Luke

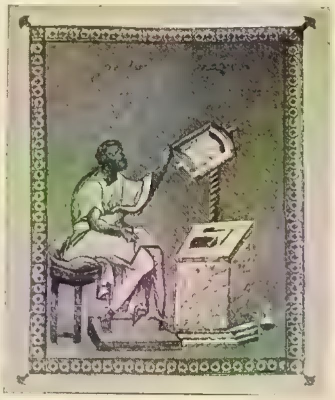

139. John

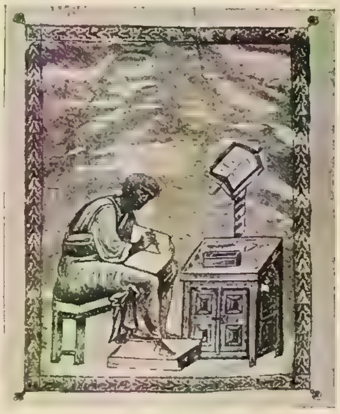
Madrid, Escorial, *MS. X, IV, 17*, Gospels, Eleventh Century. (Ch. Graux et Alb. Martin)


140. Mark

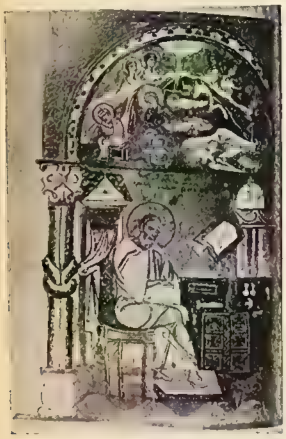

141. Luke

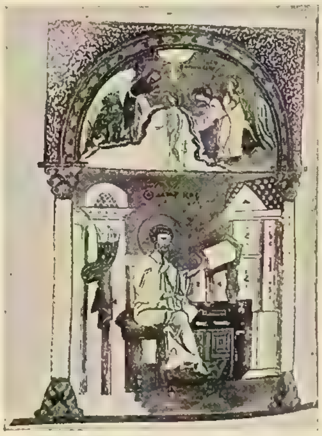
Rome, Vatican Library, *Gr. 1158*, Gospels,
Thirteenth Century. (Frick Art Reference Library)

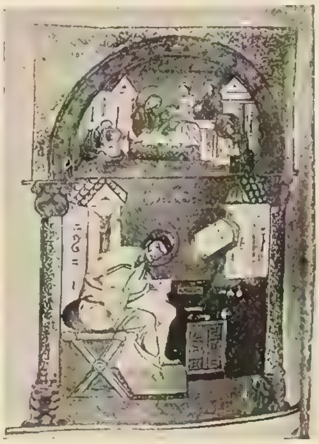

142. Mark

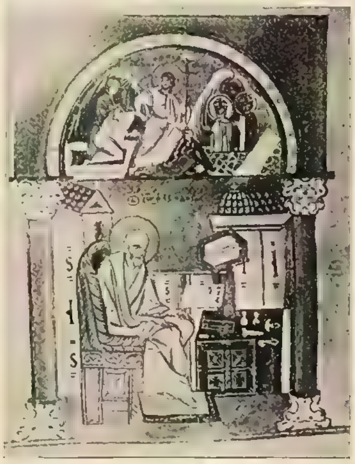

143. Luke

Vienna, National Library, *Suppl. Gr. 50**, Gospels,
Eleventh Century. (Gerstinger, Beer)


144. Matthew


145. Mark


146. Luke


147. John

Venice, Marcian Library, *Gr. Z 540*, Gospels, Twelfth Century. (Millet, *Hautes Etudes*)

the set of seated portraits of the Evangelists goes back both in poses and in the architectural backgrounds to early Christian times, at least to the fifth century.

The original home of these types is not Cappadocia as might hastily be assumed from the presence of them in the two Cappadocian manuscripts. It must be clear to anyone looking at the portraits on Plate XI that these are deformed copies of better originals. Where did the originals come from?

The portrait of Mark itself, in the *Rossanensis*, betrays the provenance of its model. Mark writes at the dictation of a standing veiled woman (Fig. 148). The conjectures as to the identity of this personage were many [1] until Baumstark [2] showed that the idea of the added inspiring figure was really only an adaptation of the Poet and Muse group used on Asiatic sarcophagi [3] (Fig. 164). This type of the Poet and Muse occurs frequently in Hellenistic and imperial Roman times. A good example is found in the mosaic of Monnus at Trèves [4] (Fig. 151) where Urania, the Muse of Astronomy, is represented with the globe, inspiring Aratos who wrote the famous astronomical poem.[5] Later, in the Vienna manuscript of *Dioscorides* (*Med. Gr. 1*) [6] we find the Muse displaced as the inspiring figure by personifications, Heuresis (Fig. 149) and Epinoia (Fig. 150). The figure beside Mark in the fifth-sixth century *Rossanensis* may then be no longer the Muse, but some pious personification such as Sophia, Holy Wisdom, as has been suggested.[7] But what is important is not so much whom the copyist of the *Rossanensis* thought the lady to be, but who, originally, she was. And here there is no doubt. She was the Muse in the Poet and Muse group. So, then, Mark is the Poet? The type of Mark is perhaps that of a pagan Poet! That is exactly what seems indicated. What will follow, if this be true, is that the whole set of seated Evangelist portraits, architecture and all, will carry back to the Hellenistic center from which the *Rossanensis* ultimately drew its model of the Poet and Muse. The Hellenistic centers from which Cappadocia and Asia Minor would be likely to draw were the cities of the west coast of which Ephesus was the chief, at least in the early centuries where chronologically our study is rapidly forcing us.

[1] Harnack, Haseloff, Muñoz suggest Sophia (Divine Wisdom); Kondakoff, Inspiration; Riedin, Mary.

[2] Anton Baumstark, *Monatshefte für Kunstw.* vol. VIII (1915), p. 119.

[3] C. R. Morey, *The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi.* Sardis. vol. V. *Roman and Christian Sculpture,* Part I (Princeton, 1924), p. 95.

[4] *Antike Denkm. d. Inst. I, Taf.* 48^{3}. J. J. Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie,* vol. II, p. 146, *Abb.* 13.

[5] An example of a Philosopher and Muse is seen on the Sarcophagus of the Muses in Paris. Socrates is seated conversing with the Muse who leans on a tall pedestal. Cf. Georg Lippold, *Die griechische Porträtstatuen,* Fig. 6.

[6] Ernst Diez, *Die Miniaturen des Wiener Dioskorides* (*Byzantinische Denkmäler,* vol. III), pp. 38 ff. This article derives the author portrait from Hellenistic reliefs and ultimately from the Attic grave reliefs.

[7] Dalton, *Byz. A. and A.*, p. 454.

But caution demands a taking of stock at this point lest we overstep ourselves. The Mark portrait in the *Rossanensis* may well derive from the classical group of the Poet and Muse such as we see on the Asiatic sarcophagi. This we may take as proved. But what about the other types which we have associated with the one of the *Rossanensis*, the tenth century ones with which we started? Did they also originate in Classical Greek art? If this can be proved, we are at the goal of our research, at the fountain head of the tradition. The proof is given by a series of confrontations between our seated Evangelist portraits and Hellenistic seated statues of Poets and Philosophers arranged on Plate XVI. The similarities are so great between the types that there can be no doubt concerning the connection, and the borrowing.

1. The pose of John in Stauronikita *43* (Fig. 153) is exactly similar to that of the statue of a Philosopher (or Poet) in the Torlonia Collection in Rome[1] (Fig. 154). The only difference is that John has his hand entirely raised to his chin. The pose of the arm is perhaps closer in a similar statue in Naples, Museo Borbonico[2] (Fig. 155).

2. The pose of Matthew in Stauronikita *43* (Fig. 156) is exactly the same as the statue of a Philosopher, (Epicurus of Samos) in the Ince Blundell Collection in England[3] (Fig. 157). Again the pose of the right hand and the left arm enveloped in the drapery is seen, perhaps more exactly, in another statue of a Poet or Philosopher in the Vatican Museum, Rome[4] (Fig. 158). The same pose in relief sculpture is seen in the much earlier (fourth century) representation of a Poet in the Acropolis Museum at Athens[5] (Fig. 159).

3. Less striking and true yet, nevertheless, valuable when taken in con-

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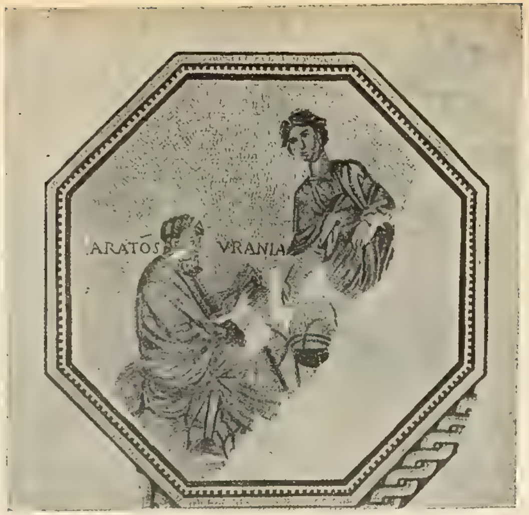
[1] S. Reinach, *Répertoire de la Statuaire Grecque et Romaine* (Paris, 1897), *Tome* I, p. 514. De Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, Pl. 848, 2140. The head is modern (de Clarac, vol. V, p. 98). The indeterminate gesture of the right arm and hand suggests copying from a damaged prototype. In the original the arm probably went to the chin as in the miniature. The similarity in pose extends to the arrangement of the drapery. In both monuments the *himation* is pulled up and bunched over the left thigh. The identity of the author represented in the Torlonia statue has never, so far as I have been able to ascertain, been discovered. The facial type of John in the miniature resembles that of the Philosopher Zeno of Sidon (Hekler, *Greek and Roman Portraits*, p. 104) with his contracted brows and square beard. Cf. Lippold, *Griechische Porträtstatuen*, p. 83.

[2] S. Reinach, *Répertoire*, *Tome* I, p. 510.

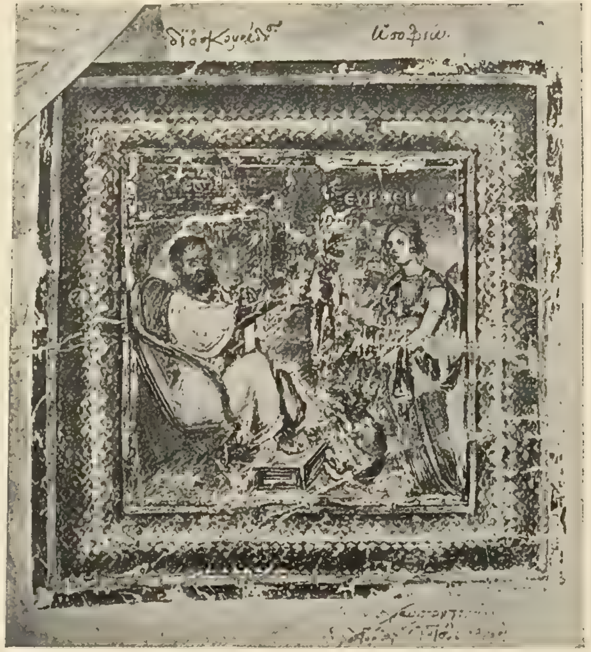
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 513. de Clarac, *Op. cit.*, Pls. 846, 2134. Frederik Poulsen, *Greek and Roman Portraits in English Country Houses* (Oxford, 1923), p. 43. A life-size statue of the same type is found in Rome, Palazzo Margherita (Cf. Georg Lippold, *Die Griechische Porträtstatuen*, p. 79, Fig. 17). This similarity presents one of the most interesting phenomena in early Christian iconography, that the portrait of St. Matthew should be taken from the type of the statue of Epicurus of all the Greek Philosophers! The heads of the Ince Blundell statuette and of the Palazzo Margherita statue are restorations. The type of the head of Epicurus is best seen in the bust and the herm in the Capitoline Museum, Rome (H. Stuart Jones, *Cat. Museo Capitolino*, Oxford, 1912, Pls. 56, 57), and in a head in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. It will be seen that the head of Matthew in Stauronikita *43* is like the Capitoline Museum bust — the same long horse face and the beard parted in the center of the chin. Epicurus was born in Samos in 342 B.C. According to Diogenes Laertius his native city later honored him with bronze statues (J. J. Bernoulli, *Griechische Ikonographie*, vol. II, pp. 122, 123). Perhaps we have the reflection of these in the Blundell and Palazzo Margherita statues and in the miniature of Matthew.

[4] S. Reinach, *Répertoire*, *Tome* II, p. 630.

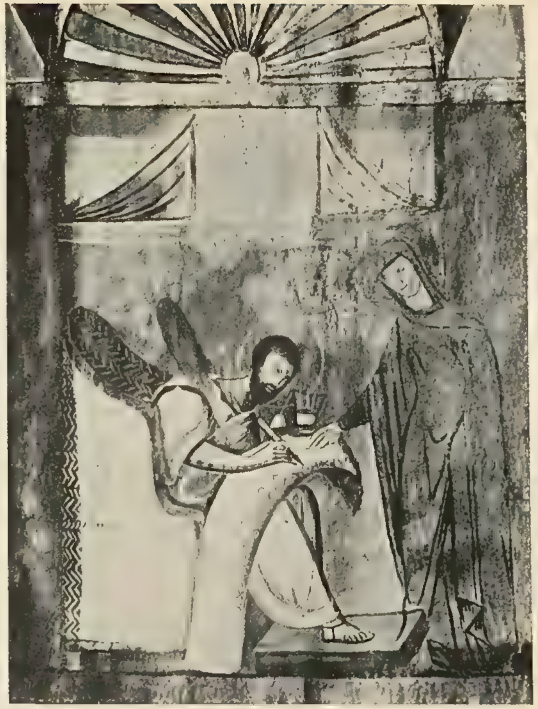
[5] G. M. A. Richter, *Ancient Furniture* (Oxford, 1926), Fig. 21.



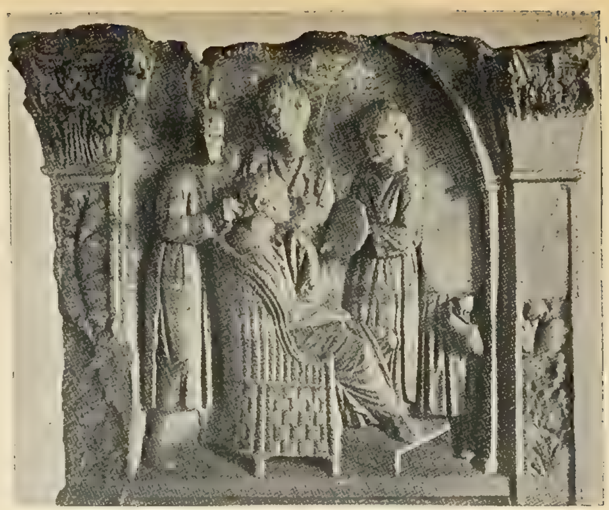
151. Aratos and Urania. Trêves, Museum, Mosaic of Monnus



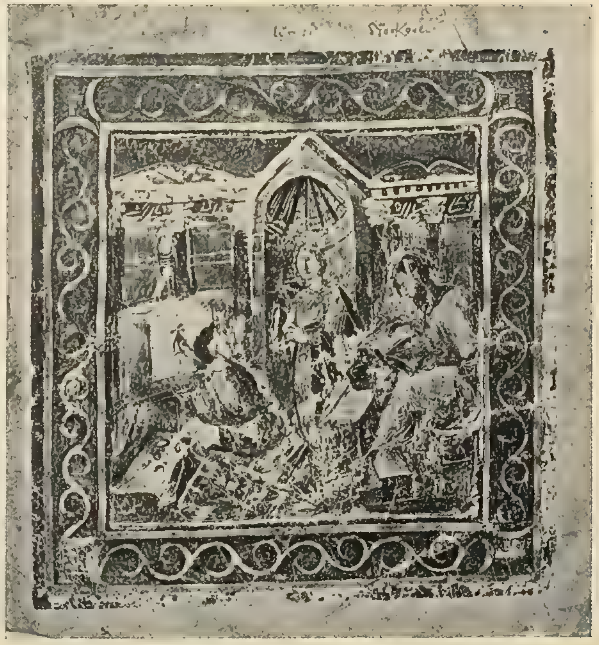
149. Dioscorides and Heuresis. Vienna, National Library, *Med. Gr. 1*, Fol. 4v, Sixth Century. (Diez, *Byz. Denk.*)



148. Rossano, Cathedral, *Codex Purpureus*



152. Trêves, Museum. Roman Relief. (Pijoan)



150. Dioscorides, Epinoia and the Painter. Vienna, National Library, *Med. Gr. 1*, Fol. 5v, Sixth Century. (Diez, *Byz. Denk.*)

junction with the others is the similarity in pose between the Mark (reversed) of the Vatican *Cod. Gr. 364* (Fig. 161) and a quite intense statue of a Philosopher in the Giustiniani Collection, Rome [1] (Fig. 162).

It is no wonder that the portraits of the Evangelists in Stauronikita *43* impressed us with their sculptural modelling and insistence. They were really derived from the types of the seated statues of pagan Poets and Philosophers. The artists who were called upon in the first centuries of Christianity to compose portraits of the four Evangelists, of whom there were no real likenesses, were free to take up and adapt the familiar author portraits surrounding them, *i.e.*, the Poets and Philosophers of Hellenistic Greek art. We are now certain as we look at the portraits of the Evangelists in Stauronikita *43* or in the Vatican *Cod. Gr. 364* that we are face to face with the primitive types adapted from the antique in the earliest Gospel manuscripts which had author portraits as frontispieces. The kinship between our tenth century manuscripts and the *Rossanensis* is cemented. They both copy the ancient Poet and Philosopher types as Evangelist portraits.[2] But whereas the *Rossanensis* deforms the model somewhat in the copying, the Gospel books of the Macedonian Renaissance have preserved with great fidelity the purity of the original types which had descended through centuries of transmission.

The proof that the poses of the Evangelists are ancient inevitably carries the associated architecture back to ancient times also. In the *Codex Rossanensis*, behind the Evangelist who now is shown to be originally the type of a classic Poet, is a background which looked like a clumsy attempt to represent the stage front of an ancient theatre. The architectural settings behind the Luke of Stauronikita *43* and behind John of the Vatican *Cod. Gr. 364* leave less doubt on this score. A tenth century Gospel manuscript on Mt. Athos, *Philotheu 33* (I have no photographs of it) contains the single portrait of the Evangelist Mark, facing right. Brockhaus[1] who describes it leaves no doubt as to its classical appearance. Behind the figure is a very significant background consisting of a colonnade of Ionic columns which is broken in the center by a conch-niche covered with a gable. Above the architecture is a strip of blue sky. Exactly the same architectural lay-out appears behind the figures of Dioscorides, Epinoia and the Painter in the sixth century manuscript in Vienna (Fig. 168). The difference is merely that the columns are Corinthian instead of Ionic. Both these backgrounds are pictures of stage fronts. This can be made certain by reference to a marble Roman relief in the Terme Museum, Rome (Fig. 167),[2] which shows a complete stage front with a colonnade of Corinthian columns, broken in the center by a high arched niche containing the central doorway of the classical stage. Above the stage front on the frame of the relief are the swags of flowers and draperies that appear likewise above the architecture in the picture from the Vienna manuscript (Fig. 168). This attests the decoration of the top of the stage wall which we noticed frequently in the backgrounds of the Evangelist portraits.

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[1] S. Reinach, *Répertoire*, vol. I, p. 514. de Clarac, *Op. cit.*, Pls. 847, 2138. Matthew and John, the Apostles, are the Evangelists whose portraits most closely imitate the poses of the Hellenistic Greek author statues. In these statues the figure is never represented writing. He holds his scroll and sits in meditation. Writing was the work of the amanuensis not of the author (Gerstinger, *Op. cit.*, p. 44, note 71). Hence the more honorable Apostles are represented musing quite as the pagan Poet or Philosopher. Mark and Luke, disciples of Apostles, write. They are amanuenses and in the case of the *Rossanensis*, Mark *writes* at the dictation of the Muse. Consequently it is useless to search for the exact types of seated Greek statues which might have been *copied* in the portraits of Mark and Luke. There are no such prototypes. However, that the poses of the lesser Evangelists were *adapted* from the antique seems possible from a comparison of the Mark (reversed) of Stauronikita *43* (Fig. 96) and the Euripides in the relief from Smyrna in the Ottoman Museum, Constantinople (G. Mendel, *Cat. des Sculptures, t.* II, p. 297). It is valuable to recall in this place that the "Western text" of the Greek Gospels habitually arranges the Evangelistic writings in the order: Matthew, John, Luke, and Mark (Streeter, *Op. cit.*, p. 70.) This gives a division between the Apostles and the disciples which reflects the differentiations noted above in the poses and earlier in the facial types. The whole question of the relation of the Evangelist portraits to those of the Greek Poets and Philosophers, I expect to treat more fully later.

[2] Morey, *Op. cit.*, p. 64, where is found some earlier history of the Poet and Muse type. The Evangelist portraits are not the only ones taken from classical author statues. Even the figure of Christ is so derived. As is well known, the Christ on the Asiatic sarcophagus from Sulu Monastir adapts the pose of the Lateran statue of Sophocles (Morey, Figs. 25 and 134).

It is proved, I think, that some of the architectural backgrounds found behind the seated types of Evangelists are representations of the classical stage front. Into this category may come also the *exedra* seen as the background in the portraits of Mark and John in Stauronikita and behind Matthew and Mark in Petrograd *21*. The classical *scenae frons* was an elaborate affair, a wall broken by colonnades, *exedrae*, niches, and so forth, in which statues were placed for decoration (Fig. 165). These statues would tend to be appropriate, that is, would probably represent the famous Poets of the ancient world.[3] If the theatre was generally used for all sorts of gatherings, as seems to have been the case with the one at Ephesus (Acts XIX, 29–41), then a more extended repertory of statues including Philosophers and local worthies might have found a place on the stage wall. The stage front would thus, naturally, have formed the background for the seated figures. The setting then might be either an *exedra*, if the statue was close to the wall, or the whole stage front if a more distant point of view was taken. The idea of the background is the same — the stage wall.[4]

The earliest codices were, in format, not oblong but wide and square as I

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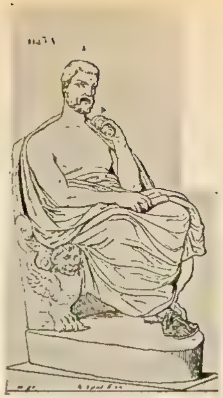
[1] *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

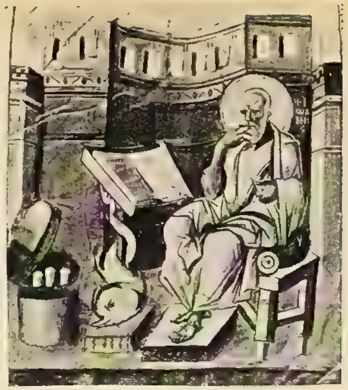
[2] Margarete Bieber, *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* (Berlin, Leipzig, 1920), *Taf.* 40.

[3] Georg Lippold, *Op. cit.*, pp. 49, 62, 67.

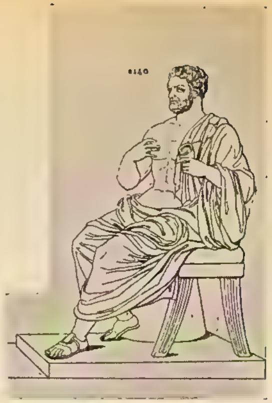
[4] Not all the backgrounds of our pictures suggest the stage front. The background of the portrait of Matthew in Stauronikita *43* (Fig. 95) seems rather to represent the agora with its temple and enclosing wall. The statue of Epicurus was perhaps placed not in the theatre but in the market place. Some of the *exedra* backgrounds behind the Evangelists may have been taken from the agora rather than from the theatre. In the Hellenistic city the large public squares were treated with great elaboration and like the theatre included *exedrae* and statues. The origins of the architectural backgrounds used in the Evangelist portraits is a subject which again requires more discussion than I can give here.



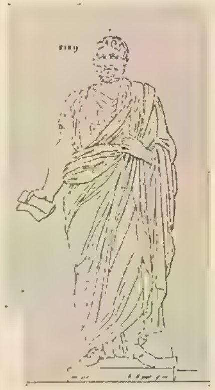
155. Naples, Museo Borbonico. (Reinach)



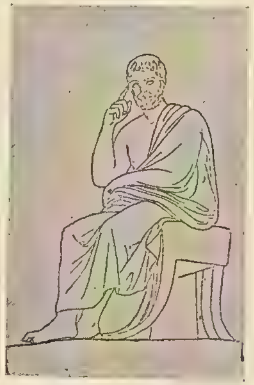
153. John. Mt. Athos, Stauronikita, *MS. 43*



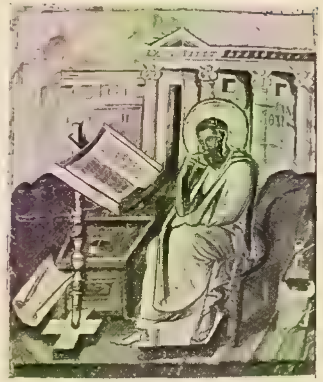
154. Rome, Torlonia Collection. (Reinach)



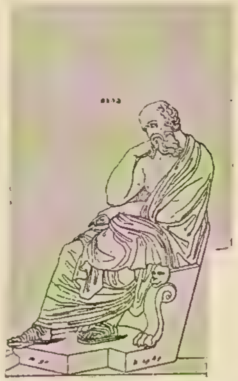
163. Rome, Vatican. (Reinach)



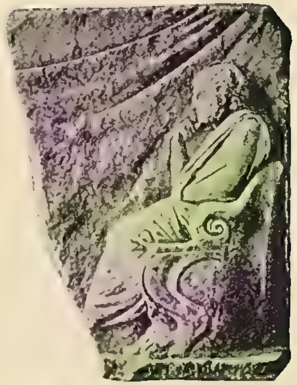
158. Rome, Vatican (Reinach)



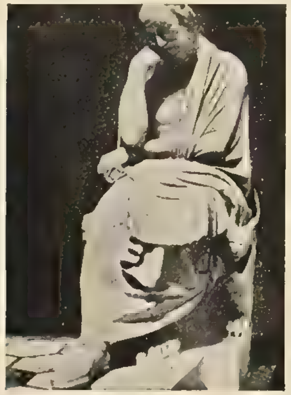
156. Matthew. Mt. Athos, Stauronikita, *MS. 43*



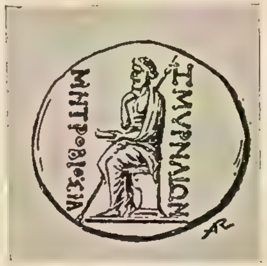
157. Epicurus. Ince Blundell Collection. (Reinach)



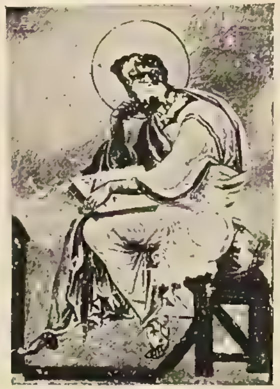
159. Athens, Acropolis Museum. (Richter)



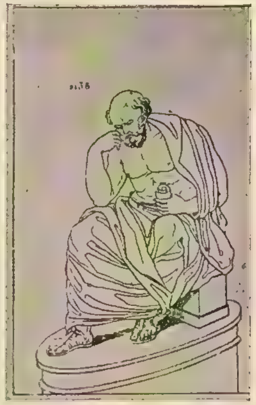
157 *bis.* Ince Blundell Collection. (Poulsen)



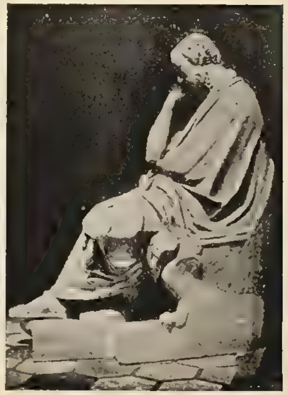
160. Coin of Smyrna. Figure of Homer



161. Mark. Rome, Vatican Library. *Cod. Gr. 364* (reversed)



162. Rome, Giustiniani Collection. (Reinach)



157 *ter.* Ince Blundell Collection. (Poulsen)

have shown above. Consequently the decoration of a page of one of these square books with an author portrait as the frontispiece called for a square picture, best obtained by giving the figure a profile seated pose. The space around this figure, particularly above it, demanded a background which would give it a "setting." Since the seated author portraits always took up a page of the codex, a fairly monumental background was imperative. The material of the codex, vellum, with its smooth surface, encouraged elaborate painting. What more natural than that the illuminator should surround his seated author types with the setting of the stage front which formed the background of the prototypes of his figures, the seated statues of the Poets and Philosophers in the theatre? The manuscripts of the Gospels need not have been the first to use this idea of making up the square-shaped author portraits for the codex.[1] Other author portraits in addition to the Evangelists may well have been composed, but what controlled the invention was the square format of the vellum codex. The case is entirely analogous to the influence of the narrow columns of the papyrus rolls upon the formation of the standing author portraits. *In both cases we are at the beginning of the formation of an artistic type on which material and format of the vehicle have the controlling influence.*

But the painter was not the only one to use the stage front as a background. In sculpture we find the same idea expressed. The whole series of Asiatic sarcophagi, so comprehensively studied by Morey,[2] show architectural backgrounds inspired by the niches, gables and colonnades of the classical stage front.[3] A Roman relief in clay in the Terme Museum, Rome[4] (Fig. 166) which represents a play in full action, illustrates how ornate the feature of the stage wall could be. Niemann's restoration of the Roman stage front at Ephesus calls up the elaborate setting that was before the eyes of the Ephesian in his theatre (Fig. 165).[5] On the Sidamara Sarcophagus (Fig. 164) which belongs to the Asiatic series there is represented the group of the Poet and Muse in front of the stage scene. Here in sculpture are the same type and setting which found their way together into the painted page of the *Codex Rossanensis.* The two works of art are parallel reflections of the same idea.

The Hellenistic city which during the second and third centuries was the center of the manufacture of the Asiatic sarcophagi was Ephesus.[6] Let it be recalled that we concluded that our seated types of Evangelists originated in some Hellenistic Greek center on the west coast of Asia Minor. When the importance of Ephesus as a center of Christianity during the first centuries of our era is realized, we can have little hesitation in holding that our primitive seated Evangelist types, copied from the figures of the classical Poets and Philosophers, are really those made up in Ephesus at the time when the Gospels were first copied into the permanent codices of vellum and embellished with frontispieces representing the authors. This would appear to be as early as possible after the need for fine and permanent Gospel books arose, probably at the end of the second or at the beginning of the third century.

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[1] But behind the profile seated types of the Evangelists there was *no long tradition in classical manuscripts,* as was the case behind the standing types. The codex was not an ancient format. These seated figures, then, were borrowed directly from the sculpture in the theatre and agora almost at the time when the square vellum codex first came into general use. This form ultimately succeeded the roll with its standing author portrait which has a much earlier history.

[2] *Op. cit.*

[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 90–93.

[4] Bieber, *Op. cit., Taf.* 56.

[5] *Ibid., Abb.* 49.

[6] Morey, *Op. cit.*, pp. 71–78.

There is an interesting bit of evidence which shows how at this time (Roman Imperial period) and earlier, the Hellenistic cities on the coast of Asia Minor held their native poets, philosophers and other writers in such honor that they were prompted to place statues of these men in the theatres and other public places. They also placed representations of busts or statues of them on the coins. Thus Smyrna from the second century B.C.[1] on into Imperial times, placed a figure of Homer on its coins (Fig. 160). It is interesting to note that the pose is almost exactly like that of John in Stauronikita *43* (Fig. 153). Other examples of this sort of coinage are given by MacDonald.[2] He points out the fact that the practice is almost entirely confined to the coastal cities of Asia Minor and the contiguous islands. It is not strange therefore that the Christian citizens of Ephesus should early have demanded portraits of the authors of the Christian Gospels, the Evangelists.

To complete this outline study of the seated Evangelist types found in the tenth and eleventh century Greek Gospel manuscripts, we must discuss another type. In the eleventh century, this new type is associated frequently with certain of the six types of portraits which we know. It is the amusing picture of John dictating his Gospel to the trembling scribe Prochoros, on the island of Patmos. This picture illustrates a tale taken from the apocryphal Acts of John. Zahn[3] in his publication of this piece of literature feels that the story cannot date before the fifth century. In any case the picture which illustrates the text is not an ancient one. It has not been found, so far as I know, in a representation earlier than the end of the tenth or beginning of the eleventh century. There is no evidence to carry the picture back of the Macedonian Renaissance. It seems rather to be a medieval type based on apocryphal legend and added to the iconographic repertory of Byzantine art during the eleventh century. Plate XVIII illustrates four manuscripts which contain the illustration. It is the only picture, as we see here, which places a landscape background behind the Evangelist. The setting is in a deserted part of the island

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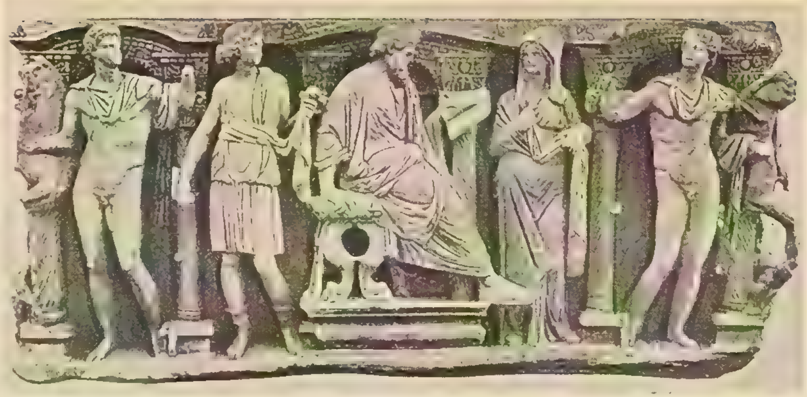
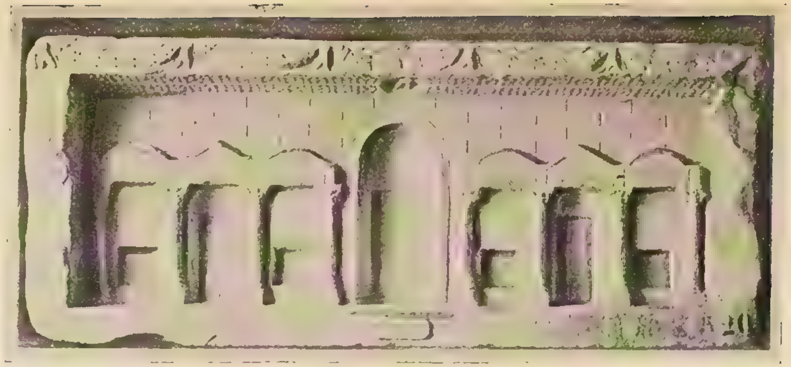
[1] Barclay V. Head, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Ionia* (London, 1892), p. 238.

[2] George MacDonald, *Coin Types, their Origin and Development* (Glasgow, 1905), p. 175.

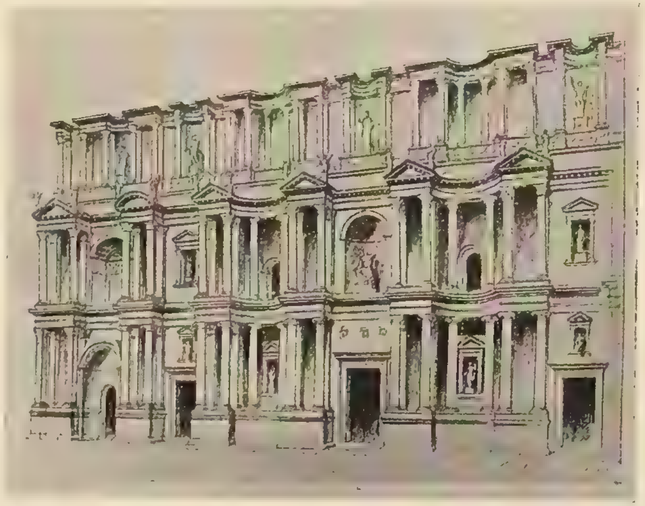
[3] Theodor Zahn, *Acta Joannis* (Erlangen, 1880), p. lx.



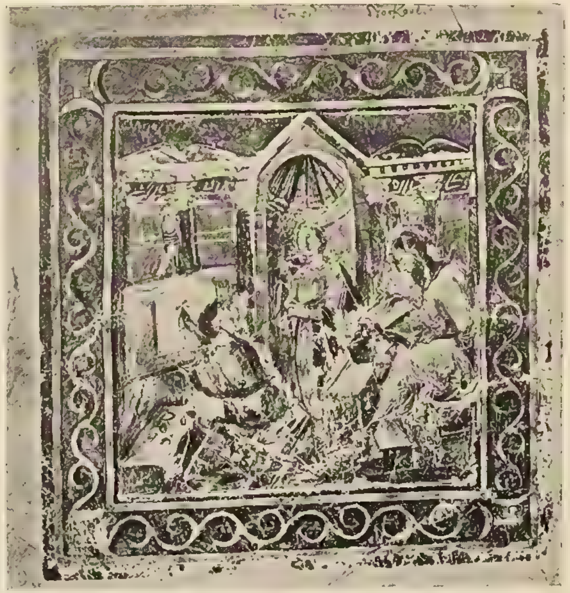
164. Constantinople, Ottoman Museum. Sidamara Sarcophagus (front). Background inspired by Stage Building



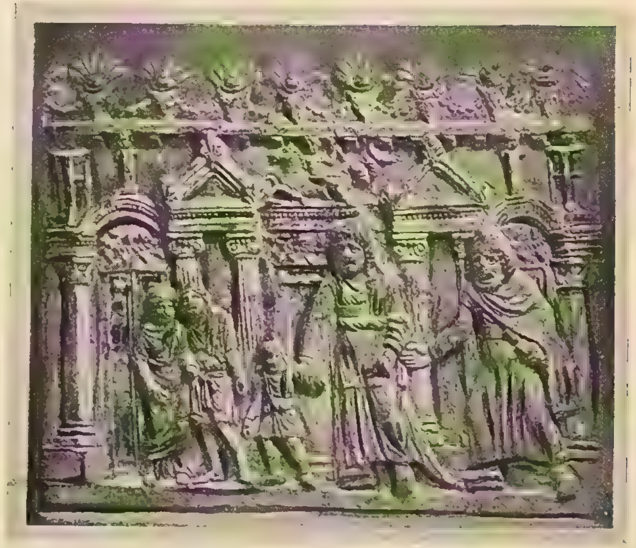
167. Rome, Terme Museum. Marble Relief showing Stage Front. (Bieber)



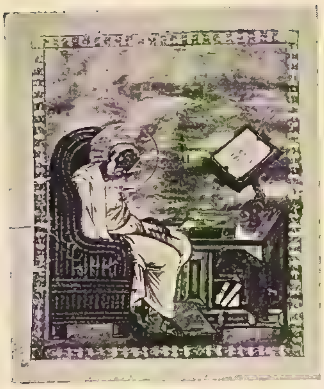
165. Ephesus, Theatre, Roman Stage Front. Restoration according to Niemann. (Bieber)

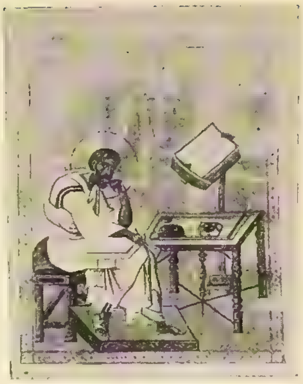


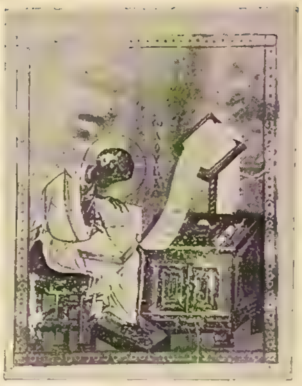
168. Dioscorides, Epinoia and the Painter. Vienna, National Library, *Med. Gr. 1*, Fol. 5v, Sixth Century. Background is Front of Stage Building

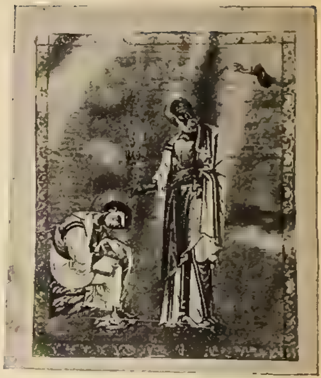


166. Rome, Terme Museum. Clay Relief showing Stage. Grave of Numitorius Hilarus. (Bieber)

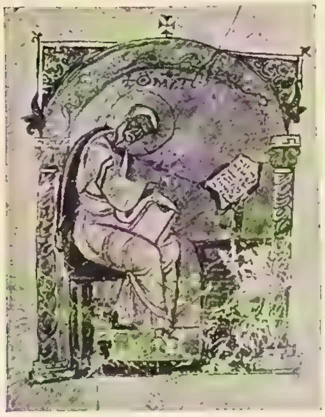

169. Matthew

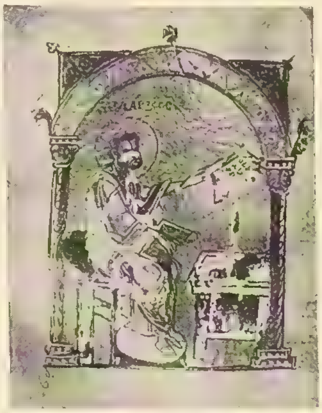

170. Mark

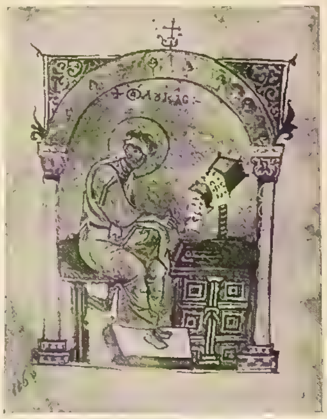

171. Luke

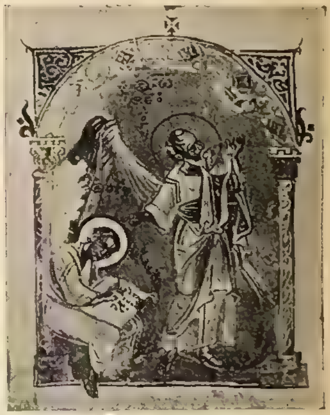

172. John and Prochoros

Mt. Athos, Dionysiu, Gospels. (Courtesy M. Millet)

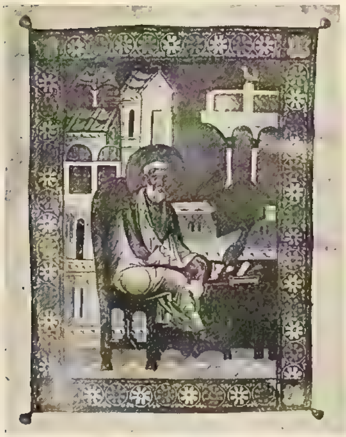

173. Matthew

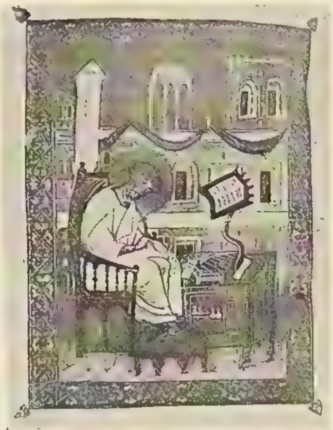

174. Mark

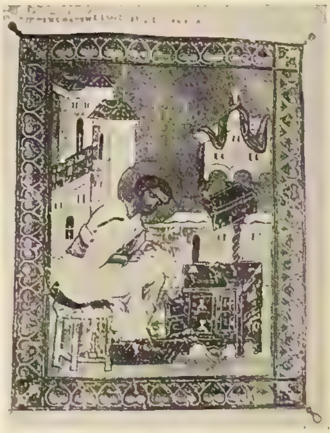

175. Luke

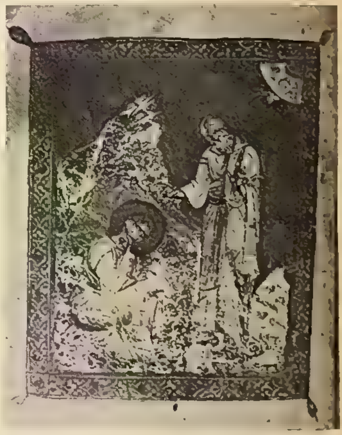

176. John and Prochoros

Florence, Laurentian Library, *Conventi Soppresi 160*, Gospels. (Bibl. d'Art d'Archéologie)

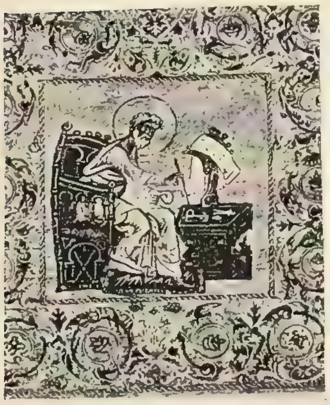

177. Matthew

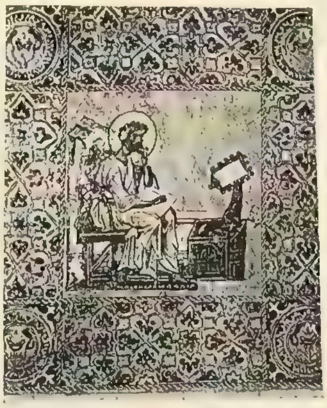

178. Mark

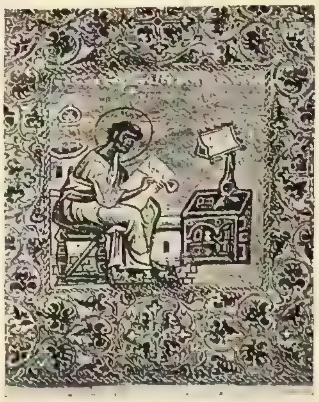

179. Luke

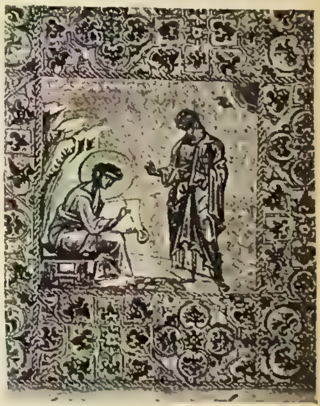

180. John and Prochoros

Florence, Laurentian Library, *MS. VI, 23*, Gospels. (Millet, *Hautes Etudes*)


181. Matthew


182. Mark


183. Luke


184. John and Prochoros

Rome, Vatican Library, *Cod. Urb. Gr. 2*, Gospels. (Frick Art Reference Library) of Patmos where John and Prochoros retired, according to the legend, in order to set down the Gospel. Baumstark [1] is clearly misled when he associates this picture with the Poet and Muse group because of a superficial resemblance of a standing dictating figure and a seated writing one. The two scenes have really nothing in common. The literal exactness of the Prochoros representation is far from the state of mind which did not hesitate to use the type of a Greek pagan Poet or Philosopher for John the Evangelist and Matthew, and to represent them in front of the stage of a classical theatre.

Summary of the Primitive Types in Greek Manuscripts

In the illumination of the Gospel books of the Macedonian Renaissance there are still preserved by copying, two of the primitive sets of the portraits of the Evangelists: 1, the standing portraits invented in Alexandria, and 2, the seated ones which began in Ephesus. With these sets of portraits we have the earliest illustration of Gospel manuscripts, wherein the Christian Greeks took over the types of pagan portraits to which they were accustomed and made them serve for the Christian authors. We are therefore at the threshold of Christian iconography.

The effect of the evidence afforded by the study of the Evangelist portraits upon the textual problems of the transmission of the Greek Gospels, I cannot discuss at this place, if indeed I am competent to discuss it at all. I can, however, point out the following inference with safety. The ubiquity and the classical primitive character of the seated Ephesian types attest clearly a great activity in the copying of illuminated Gospel manuscripts in that city during the first centuries of Christianity. Otherwise these seated types would not have survived. These manuscripts of course carried a text which might likewise healthily survive. Could the "Western" text (if it has sufficient unity to be called a text) be, after all, this local text of Ephesus, as the seated types of the Evangelists are the primitive set of the capital of the province of Asia? These portraits are at least as primitive and as authoritative as the standing ones of Alexandria. In age there is nothing to choose between them.

In the continuation of this treatise I shall investigate the types of Evangelist portraits found in the manuscripts of the Versions, Syriac, Armenian and Latin. In these we shall discover the sets of author portraits used in the Gospel manuscripts of ancient Antioch and Rome.

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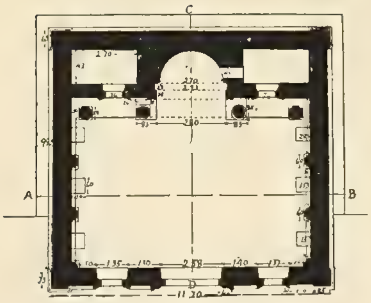
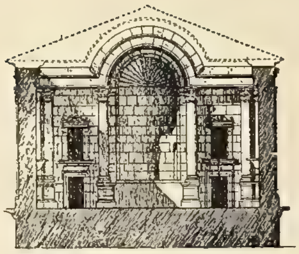
[1] *Eine antike Bildkomposition in christlich-orientalischen Umdeutungen*, p. 117.

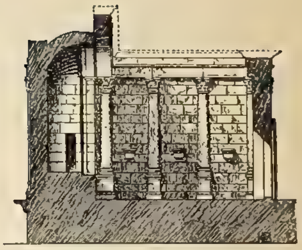
LITURGICAL INFLUENCE ON PRE-ROMANESQUE APSES IN SPAIN



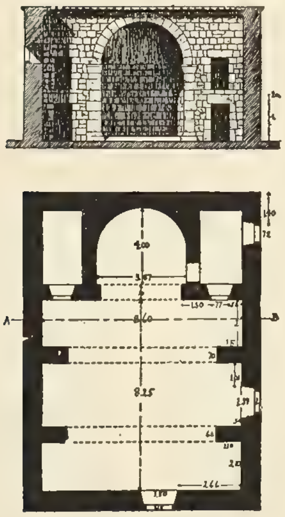
1. Is-Sanamên.
Plan of Tychaion



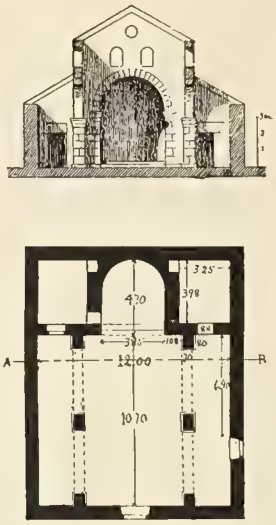
2. Is-Sanamên. Plan of
Tychaion. Section AB



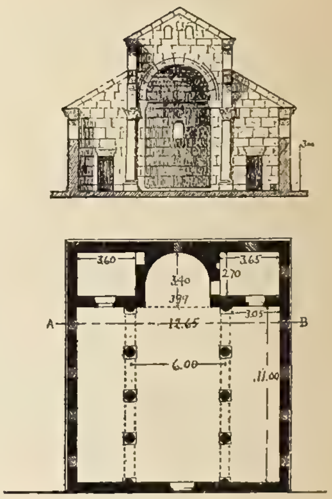
3. Is-Sanamên. Plan of
Tychaion. Section CD



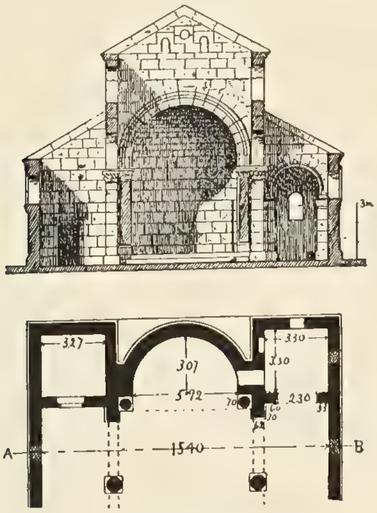
4. Dâmit il-'Alya.
Plan and Section AB


A
B
3.25
3.98
12.00
10.70

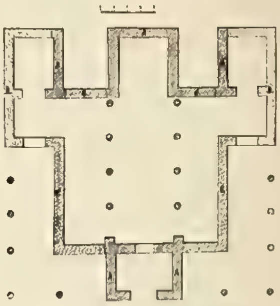
5. Il-Andarîn.
Plan and Section AB


A
B
12.65
6.00
11.00

6. Tell-'Adeh.
Plan and Section AB


A
B
3.27
3.07
5.72
15.40
2.30

7. Basufân, East Church.
Plan of East End and
Section AB. Restored



8. San Juan de Baños.
Restored Plan. (Lampérez,
*Hist. de la Arq. Cristiana
Española en la Edad Media*)

LITURGICAL INFLUENCE ON PRE-ROMANESQUE APSES IN SPAIN

By WALTER MUIR WHITEHILL, JR.

In the study of any true church architecture a consideration of the liturgical elements involved in the general plan may, very possibly, explain puzzling features. As the purpose of a church is to shelter an altar for the greatest of the sacraments, the liturgical arrangements of the mass determine to a great extent its architectural disposition. An example of this influence may be clearly seen in the triple apses of pre-Romanesque Spanish churches.

This arrangement, which is common in the Visigothic, Reconquest, and Mozarabic churches, and more closely related to Syria than to Western countries, would seem curiously inappropriate if we were not acquainted with some of the characteristic features of the liturgy which caused it.

As the ceremonies connected with the celebration of the Eucharist are barely mentioned in the New Testament, we find our earliest record of the preparation of the oblation of bread and wine [1] in the first *Apology* of Justin Martyr, a work of the first half of the second century.[2] "And on the day called Sunday, all who live in cities or in the country gather together to one place, and the memoirs of the apostles or the writings of the prophets are read as long as time permits; then, when the reader has ceased, the president verbally instructs and exhorts to the imitation of these good things. Then we all rise together and pray, and as we before said, when our prayer is ended, bread and wine are brought, and the president in like manner offers prayers and thanksgivings, according to his ability, and the people assent, saying Amen." [3] In chapter 65 Justin says, "then is brought to the president of the brethren bread and a cup of wine mixed with water." [4]

The obvious development of this custom was to have the chalice and paten prepared before the entrance of the celebrant in a special place, the prothesis, out of the sight of the congregation. This furnished a fruitful field for the growth of liturgical prayers, which became in the rite of Constantinople a kind of preparatory mass, or mass of the prothesis.

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[1] A study of this feature in the principal Eastern and Western liturgies may be found in J. Wickham Legg's *A Comparative Study of the Time in the Christian Liturgy at which the Elements are Prepared and Set on the Holy Table* in his *Ecclesiological Essays* (London, 1905), pp. 91–178.

[2] This text describes the Eucharist at a period when the greater liturgical elaboration and uniformity brought about by the peace of the church were obviously impossible.

[3] Chapter 67, in *The Writings of Justin Martyr and Athenagoras*, tr. Dods, Reith, and Pratten (Edinburgh, 1868), p. 65.

[4] *Op. cit.*, p. 63.

In the Greek liturgy of St. James, at first the normal liturgical use of Syria, and now used only on the feast of St. James (October 23) in Jerusalem, Cyprus, and certain other localities, it was customary to bring in the bread and the wine immediately after the expulsion of the catechumens. The four earliest manuscripts of this liturgy, reprinted in parallel columns by Dr. Swainson in his *Greek Liturgies,* [1] the *Messina Roll* of 983, the Rossano manuscript of the twelfth century,[2] and two fourteenth-century manuscripts now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris,[3] which are all of Syrian origin, agree that the gifts are brought in and the cherubic hymn sung at this point. This custom had an effect on the apsidal arrangements of Syrian churches. By introducing two small chambers, or later subsidiary apses, flanking the central apse, ample provision would be made for the prothesis and a sacristy, and it seems possible that this convenient solution of the liturgical requirement was the cause of the triple apse so common in Syria.

In such temples as that of Tyche at Is-Sanamên, the ancient Aere, in the northern part of the Haurân plain,[4] an architectural precedent of great suitability was found. This little temple, built in the twelfth year of the Emperor Commodus, 192, according to a Greek inscription over the main portal, has at the south end a semi-circular apse with small rectangular chambers in two stories on either side with doorways opening directly into the naos (Figs. 1, 2, 3).

We find this disposition in many churches in the Haurân, and, in eastern central Syria and northern Syria the great majority of churches are built on this general ground plan, although many modifications are introduced in their superstructure. In the church of Dâmit il-'Alyā in the Ledjā [5] (Fig. 4), about four or five hours southeast of the Tychaion, built during the reign of Constantine the Great, there is a semi-circular apse which is wider and deeper in proportion, with flanking side chambers in two stories which open into the nave.

At Il-Andarîn,[6] (Fig. 5) in east central Syria, and Tell-'Adeh [6] (Fig. 6) in northern Syria, the semi-circular apse and flat east end is found, although these churches have side chambers of only one story, nave aisles, and a clerestory.

In the east church at Basufân,[7] (Fig. 7) dated 491–2, a type of a large class of the later churches of Syria, the curve of the apse appears on the exterior,

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[1] C. A. Swainson, *The Greek Liturgies,* Cambridge, 1884.

[2] Rome, Vatican Library, *1970.*

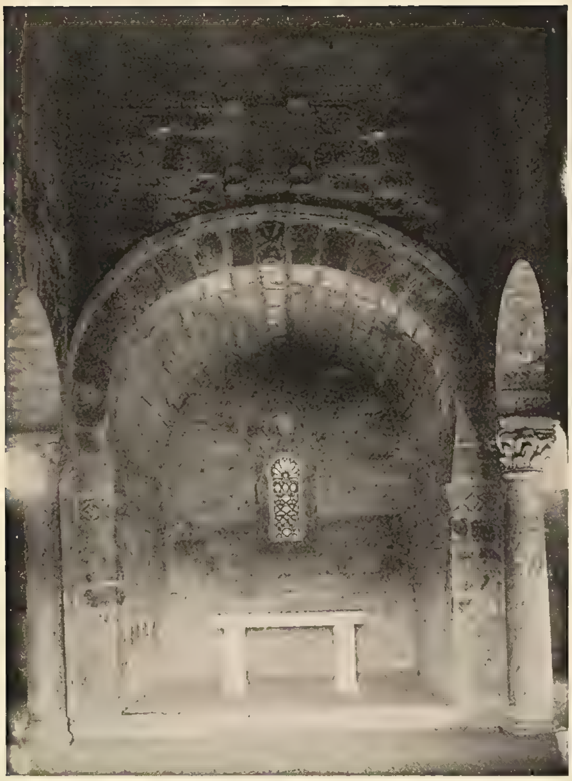
[3] *2509* and *Gr. Sup. 476.*

[4] Howard Crosby Butler, *The Tychaion at Is-Sanamên and the Plan of Early Churches in Syria, Revue Archéologique,* vol. VIII (1906), pp. 413–423.

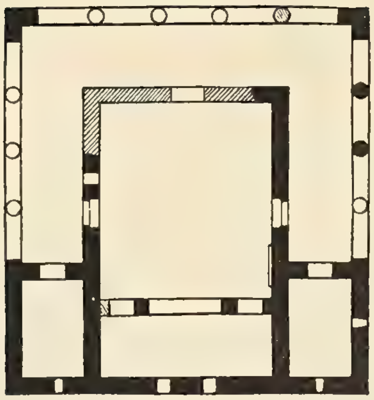
[5] *Op. cit.,* pp. 417–419.

[6] *Op. cit.,* p. 419.

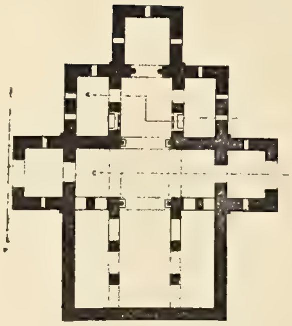
[7] *Op. cit.,* p. 420.



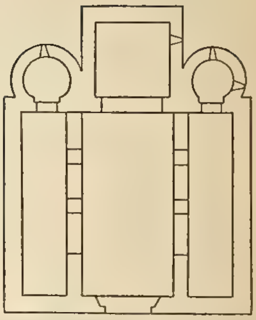
9. San Juan de Baños. Central Apse



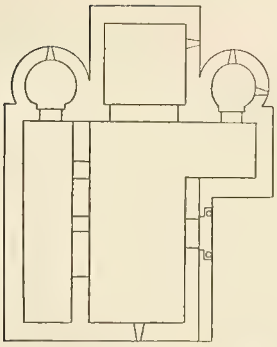
10. Kefr Finsheh, Chapel. Plan. (Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts*)



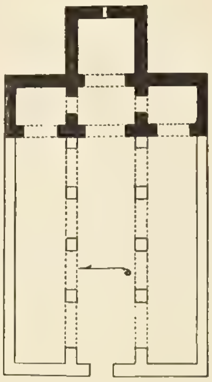
11. San Pedro de la Nave. Plan. (Lampérez, *Op. cit.*)



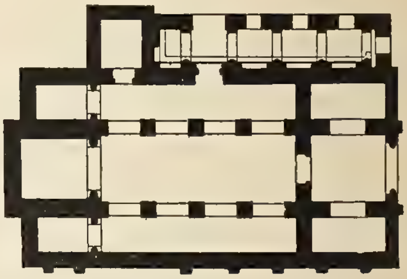
12. San Quirce de Pedret. Restored Original Plan. (Puig y Cadafalch, *L'arquitectura romanica*)



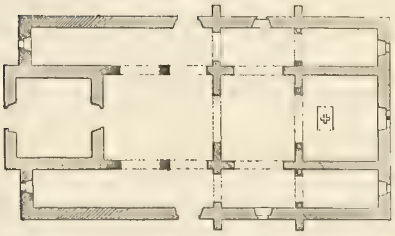
13. San Quirce de Pedret. Plan after Alterations of Twelfth Century. (Puig y Cadafalch, *Op. cit.*)



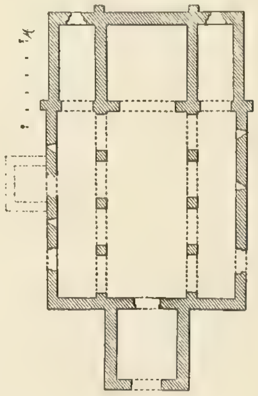
14. Santa Maria de Marquet. Plan of Hypothetical Restoration. (Puig y Cadafalch, *Op. cit.*)



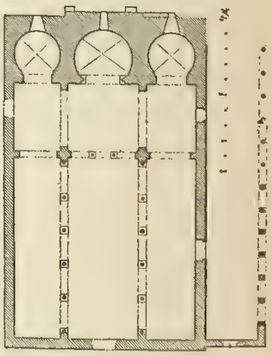
15. San Salvador de Val-de-Dios. Plan. (Lampérez, *Op. cit.*)



16. Santiañes. Plan. (Lampérez, *Op. cit.*)



17. San Pedro de Nora. Plan. (Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes*)



18. San Miguel de Escalada. Plan. (Gómez-Moreno, *Op. cit.*)

but the plan of the interior of the east end still preserves the arrangement of the Tychaion.

Because of the liturgy of St. James, such an arrangement is perfectly clear in Syria, but the question naturally arises as to why it should be found in the pre-Romanesque churches of Spain, a Western country in the Western church.

The Visigothic church of San Juan de Baños,[1] founded in 661 by Receswinth, shows in its present state three rectangular apses, the central covered with a barrel vault of horseshoe form, the two side apses with fifteenth-century ribbed vaulting. From foundations excavated in 1898 a plan of the original apsidal disposition of the church was made (Figs. 8 and 9), which, as Miss King has pointed out, shows an arrangement not unlike the chapel at Kefr Finsheh, in Syria, published by Professor Butler [2] (Fig. 10). The Syrian building is of the sixth century. A triple apse of more conventional form is found in the Visigothic church of San Pedro de la Nave in the province of Zamora [3] (Fig. 11).

Mozarabic churches furnish an abundance of triple apses. In Catalonia the churches of San Quirce de Pedret and Santa Maria de Marquet show varying forms of this feature. At Pedret [4] (Figs. 12 and 13), although the central apse is rectangular the subsidiary ones are circular. At Marquet [5] the three apses are nearly square (Fig. 14).

In the Asturias, San Salvador de Val-de-Dios,[6] (Fig. 15), Santiañes [7] (Fig. 16), and San Pedro de Nora [8] (Fig. 17) show a square central apse and rectangular side apses.

In León the church of San Miguel de Escalada [9] shows three parallel apses of horseshoe form which are sunk into the thickness of the flat eastern wall (Figs. 18 and 19). San Cebrián de Mazote [10] in its present form shows three rectangular apses. Gómez-Moreno has found traces of an apse of horseshoe shape at the western end of the church and believes that a similar apse extended to the east beyond the present rectangular construction (Fig. 20). Santa Maria de Bamba [11] shows the use of three rectangular apses (Fig. 21). In the church of Santiago de Peñalba [1] the necessary prothesis and diaconicum are provided in transepts, which proves that in Mozarabic churches with triple apses they were a liturgical necessity and not a mere architectural reminiscence of an Eastern type.

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[1] V. Lampérez y Romea, *Historia de la Arquitectura Cristiana Española en la Edad Madrid* (Madrid, 1908), vol. I, pp. 145–149.

[2] Georgiana Goddard King, *Pre-Romanesque Churches of Spain* (Bryn Mawr, 1924), p. 43; Howard Crosby Butler, *Architecture and Other Arts* (New York, 1903), p. 236.

[3] Lampérez, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 157–161; King, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–58.

[4] J. Puig y Cadafalch, *L'Arquitectura romànica a Catalunya* (Barcelona, 1909), vol. I, pp. 367–370; M. Gómez-Moreno, *Iglesias Mozárabes* (Madrid, 1919), pp. 59–63.

[5] Puig y Cadafalch, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 371–374; Gómez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–66.

[6] Lampérez, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 303–305; Gómez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, pp. 76–81.

[7] Lampérez, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 281–284.

[8] Gómez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, pp. 86–88.

[9] Lampérez, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 219–222; Gómez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, pp. 141–161; King, *op. cit.*, pp. 158–163.

[10] Gómez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, pp. 172–185.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 193–202.

In Castile, at Santa Maria de Lebeña [2] there are three rectangular apses, rather like the type of the Asturias.

The obvious reason for this architectural disposition is the Mozarabic liturgy. Western liturgies can be roughly divided into two groups, the Roman, and the Gallican. The Mozarabic use, with its Eastern features, is included in the Gallican family. Monsignor Duchesne, in his invaluable book, *Christian Worship; Its Origin and Development*,[3] has reconstructed from the letters of St. Germain of Paris,[4] who died in 576, the Mozarabic service books, and those of Merovingian Gaul, of Britain, and of northern Italy, the general outlines of a solemn mass as celebrated in the sixth century at Milan, Arles, Toledo, or Paris.

The mass begins with the entrance of the sacred ministers, dignified by the singing of an antiphon. The *Gloria in Excelsis*, the "Prophecy," that is, the canticle *Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel*, and a collect follow, after which two lections are read with the *Benedicite* placed between them. After the Gospel and the homily, the oblation, which has been prepared beforehand, is brought in with elaborate ceremonies. The bread and wine had been prepared before the entrance of the celebrant: most minute details are found in the Mozarabic Missal. By anticipation, the honor of the titles *corpus Christi* and *sanguis Christi* were applied to the elements before consecration. During the procession, a chant which bore the name of *Laudes*, similar to the Byzantine *Cherubicon*, was sung: the elements were placed on the altar and covered with a veil while the *Sacrificium* was sung by the choir. The character of these chants is shown by these texts, taken from the Christmas proper.

Laudes:

> *Alleluia! Redemptionem misit Dominus populo suo: mandavit in aeternum testamentum suum; sanctum et terribile nomen ejus. Alleluia!*

Sacrificium:

> *Parvulus natus est nobis et filius datus est nobis; et factus est principatus ejus super humeros ejus. Alleluia! Alleluia!*

The rest of the mass, however interesting, gives no architectural clues.

This Eastern element of the Gallican rite I believe explains the triple apses of pre-Romanesque Spanish churches, so often reminiscent of Syria. Although

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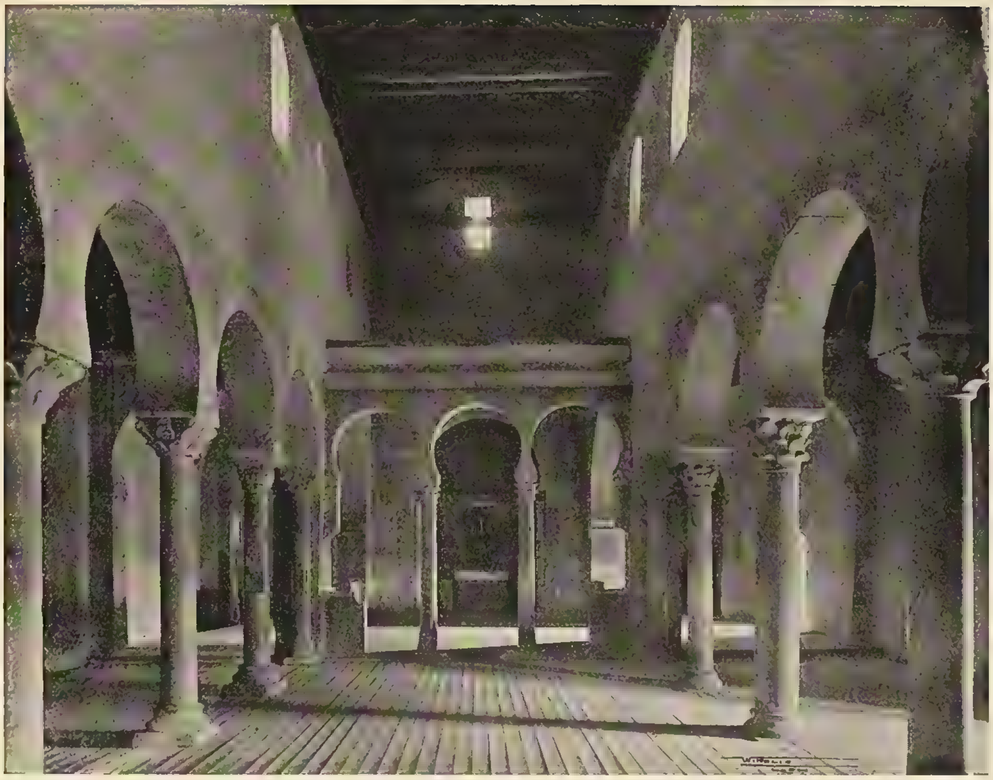
[1] Gómez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, pp. 224–238; Lampérez, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 227–230.

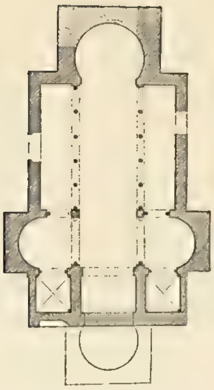
[2] Gómez-Moreno, *op. cit.*, pp. 267–282.

[3] L. Duchesne, *Christian Worship; Its Origin and Development*, tr. M. L. McClure (London, Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1923), fifth edition, pp. 189–227.

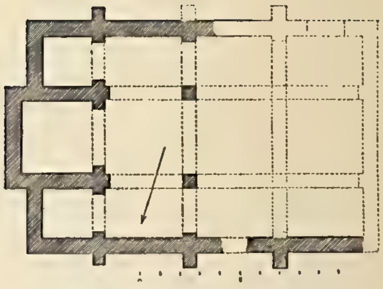
[4] Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. lxxii.



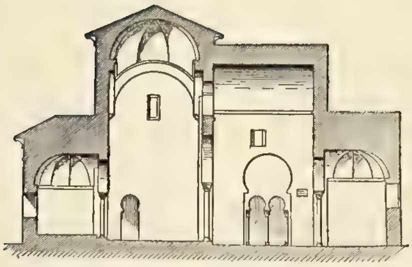
19. San Miguel de Escalada. Interior



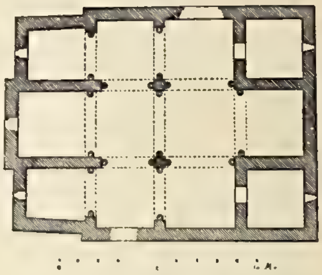
20. San Cebriàn de Mazote. Plan. (Gómez-Moreno, *Op. cit.*)



21. Santa Maria de Bamba. Plan. (Gómez-Moreno, *Op. cit.*)



22. Santiago de Peñalba. Plan. (Gómez-Moreno, *Op. cit.*)



23. Santa Maria de Lebeña. Plan. (Gómez-Moreno, *Op. cit.*)

there is obviously some connection between this use and the Eastern liturgies, it is not necessary to infer that the Mozarabic liturgy is directly descended from the liturgy of St. James: the similarity between the two in the procession of the oblation I believe is sufficient to account for the architectural likeness.

Various English liturgiologists have proposed the theory that the Gallican liturgy is the liturgy of the ancient church of Ephesus, imported into Gaul by the founders of the church of Lyons, from which place it spread throughout the transalpine West. Monsignor Duchesne, on the contrary, contends that it shows a level of liturgical development too advanced for the second century, and that the earliest date to which it can be ascribed is the middle of the fourth century. By this time Lyons had lost its ecclesiastical influence and was not sufficiently powerful to become the model of Western churches in liturgical matters.

In the place of Lyons, he proposes Milan as the center of development.[1] At the end of the fourth century Milan had assumed a kind of ecclesiastical supremacy in the West which grew as the attraction of Rome failed: the bishops of Gaul and Spain began to look there for the solution of their difficulties. From 355 to 374 a Cappadocian, Auxentius, was the head of the church in Milan, and he was not the only Greek exercising episcopal functions in a Western country. Moreover Milan was in easy communication with Asia Minor and Constantinople through the Illyrian provinces and Aquileia, so it is not surprising that Eastern features found their way into the Gallican liturgy. With the Eastern procession of the oblation in the liturgy in use in Spain it was only natural that the architectural disposition of pre-Romanesque Spanish apses should be similar to those of Syria where a similar liturgical custom prevailed.

The provision of the prothesis and diaconicum in the transepts of Santiago de Peñalba (Fig. 22), which has only one apse, is added evidence that the relation between the triple apses of Spain and Syria is a case of similar causes producing similar results in two widely separated places, rather than a case of direct architectural connection.

The difficulty of maintaining uniform liturgical practice in the countries of the Gallican rite, lacking as they did a common religious center, was inevitable. The religious unity attained in Spain, enforced by the decrees of the councils of Toledo, resulted in the maintenance of the Gallican use in that country for the longest time. The liturgical confusion outside the Spanish peninsula is the obvious reason why triple apses are not common elsewhere in the West at this period, for, in Gaul it led eventually to the adoption of the Roman rite and the consequent loss of the liturgical reason for their existence. By a decree of King Pepin the Short (752–768) the Gallican use was prohibited in his kingdom. A mention of this decree is found in the *admonitio generalis* of 789 of Charlemagne.[1] "Omni clero. — Ut cantum Romanum pleniter discant et ordinabiliter per nocturnale vel gradale officium peragatur, secundum quod beatae memoriae genitor noster Pippinus rex decertavit ut fieret, quando Gallicanum tulit, ob unanimitatem apostolicae sedis et sanctae Dei ecclesiam pacificam concordiam."

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[1] Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

The Merovingian confusion was impossible: the only appeal was to tradition and to Rome. Spain was in comparatively good order, and so the Mozarabic liturgy, the Spanish variety of the Gallican use, continued to flourish there. In consequence, in order to provide the necessary architectural accommodations for the procession of the oblation which was a part of this liturgy, triple apses were a necessary part of the majority of the pre-Romanesque churches of Spain.

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[1] *Cap.* 80, quoted by Duchesne, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

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